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T O U R
I N
I R E L A N D:

WITH
GENERAL OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THAT
K I N G D O M:

MADE IN
THE YEARS 1776, 1777, and 1778. AND
BROUGHT DOWN TO THE END OF 1779.

Nobis in arto & inglorius labor. ——— TACIT.

By ARTHUR YOUNG, Esq. F.R.S.

Honorary Member of the Societies of DUBLIN, YORK and MANCHESTER;
the Imperial Society of Agriculture at PETERSEBURGH; the Oecono-
mical Society of BERNE; the Palatine Academy of Agriculture,
at MANHEIM, and the Physical Society at ZURICH.

THE SECOND EDITION,

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N:

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I-R-E-L-A-N-D

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

PRESIDENT STATE

OF THAT

M.G.D.O.M.



BY ARTHUR

THE SECOND EDITION

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON

PRINTED BY

THE

T O U R, &c.

1777.

UPON a second journey to Ireland this year, I took the opportunity of going from Dublin to Mitchellsown, by a rout through the central part of the kingdom which I had not before sufficiently viewed.

LEFT Dublin the 24th of september, and taking the road to Naas, I was again struck with the great population of the country, and the cabbins being so much poorer in the vicinity of the capital than in the more distant parts of the kingdom. Mr. Nevill, at Furness, had, in a very obliging manner, given directions for my being well informed of the state of that neighbourhood. He is a landlord remarkably attentive to the encouragement of his tenantry. He allows half the expence of building houses on his estate, which has raised seven of stone and slate, and nine good cabbins, 35 by 16, at 27l each. He gives annually to his tenants three premiums of 7l. 5l. and 3l. for the greatest number of trees planted in proportion to the number of their acres, and pays the hearth money of all who plant. He also allows his tenants 40s, an acre for all

the parts of their farm that want gravelling, and does the boundary fence for them, but he is paid in his rent very well for this. The following particulars I owe to his obliging attention.

THE soil in general, for some miles every way, is a lime-stone gravel, which does very well for wheat: lets at an average at 20s. that is, from 10s. to 40s. There are some tracts of green stone land, and a little clay. Rents rose till 1772, but have since rather fallen: the whole county through may be 14s. or 15s. If all now was to be let it would be 20s. Farms rise from 15 acres to 500: a middling size 250. They are now smaller than formerly, being divided as fast as leases fall. There are houses in general to all, the land lets the better for them, owing to its being a tillage country. A common farmer requires one 50 feet long, 16 wide, two stories high; a barn 40 by 16; a stable, 40 by 16; a cow-house, 50 by 14; a pig-stye, hen-house, &c. all which would cost about 300l. of stone, the house slated, and would be sufficient for 250 acres of land. The courses of crops are;

1. Fallow. 2. Wheat. 3. Oats. 4. Wheat. 5. Clover.
6. Clover. 1. Potatoes. 2. Barley. 3. Fallow.
4. Wheat. 5. Clover. 6. Clover.

THEY sometimes sow wheat after potatoes: the crops are as great as after fallow; but the quality of the grain not equal. Their fallow they plough first in winter, harrow in may, cross plough in ditto and in june; stretch it (that is, form the ridges) in august making them of two bouts; harrow, and plough the seed furrow, in september; and reckon the best seed time the middle of that month. No dung in general

general used for it, but sometimes gravel. One barrel of seed to the acre; never weed the crop; the produce from five to twelve barrels, medium seven. Price of late years, 20s. a barrel. They thresh upon floors formed of lime, sand, and coal ashes, and are of opinion that they do not hurt the colour of the grain. At harvest they do not reap till it is quite ripe, bind directly, and form it into stacks in the field, which they leave out a fortnight. Plough the potatoe land once or twice for barley, sow a barrel an acre of 16 stone in april; medium price of late years from 7 to 12s. average 10s. Of clover they sow 21lb. per acre, generally half clover and half trefole; do not sow it till the barley is up, bush harrowing it; and on wheat bull harrow it, that is, with harrows without teeth. Never mow it. For oats they plough twice if able, sow two barrels per acre in march; the produce six to twelve barrels, and sometimes sixteen. Medium price for a few years past 6s. 6d. Upon some grounds that are light, pease are substituted instead of oats after wheat: plough but once, sow 20 stone on an acre under furrow, never weed them; the produce six barrels per acre, and the price 10s. No flax sown. Potatoes generally on a wheat stubble, always well dunged; the ridge seven feet, and the trench three feet wide, and to one perch in length of it, four loads of dung. Ten sacks, at twenty stone, plant an acre. March the best season; weed them, and get 100 sacks, at the medium price of 5s. the white English and apple sorts the best. It is common for the poor to hire grass land to plant them on, at 6l. to 6l. 6s. an acre, or for stubble land dunged.

FURNES.

Account of an acre.

Planting	2 0 0
Seed	2 10 0
Weeding	0 10 0
Digging out	3 0 0
Rent	6 0 0

£. 14 0 0

PRODUCE

One hundred sacks, at 2s. 25 0 0

Expences 14 0 0

Clear profit £. 11 0 0

One hundred sacks costing 14l. gives the prime cost of 2s. 9d. a sack. They are often sold as they grow, for 16l. or 18l. an acre. No turnips.

LIME not generally used, Mr. Nevill has a kiln that draws 16 barrels a day. Burns with culm, at 2s. 8d. a barrel. Pays for quarrying, 2d. and burning, 1d. The lime costs him, at the kiln, 10d. a barrel. Lime-stone gravel more used, which lasts seven years, and on some soils longer: twelve loads on a square perch may be done for 3l. an acre. Tillage is done with both horses and oxen, and which is extraordinary, the latter are used by common farmers as well as gentlemen. Six oxen or six horses in summer to a plough, or four in winter, do about half an acre a day. In the cross ploughing, which is the second, they go nine inches deep, at the other times shallower, price per acre, with a harrowing, 10s. 6d. They do not begin to mow their hay till july, get it into the large field cock in about a fortnight, which they

FURNESSE

they leave out three or four weeks longer; a medium crop 12 loads an acre, at the average price of 5s. 6d. It is generally a corn country, yet are there some graziers that buy in bullocks, but more cows. Also some dairies that fatten veal for Dublin, by which they make 3l. or 4l. a cow; feeding them in winter when dry on straw, some on hay. They are let out to dairy-men at 4l. a cow. The price of milch cows, in may, 5l. to 7l. One acre and half will summer feed one, and half an acre of hay for winter. The sheep kept are generally ewe flocks for fattening, for Dublin markets. Buy in at Ballinasloe, at 10s. to 15s. Sell the lamb in june or july at 8s. to 14s. and the ewe in november, at the same price they gave, keep them chiefly on clover. No folding. Medium price of wool, for 10 years past, 16s. they clip three to a stone. They are not at all subject to the rot. A great many hogs bred; keep them for fattening on potatoes; some are finished with offal corn and pease; in summer they feed them on clover. Mark this! one would think from more than one circumstance, that a good farmer in England was speaking.

In hiring and stocking a farm of 200 acres, a man ought to employ 500l. but some of them will do it with 200l. Stock for 200 acres to have 100 acres corn, and fallow every year.

Twenty horses at 6l.	and ten bullocks at 5l.	170	0	0
Six cows at 5l.		30	0	0
Two sows		2	10	0
Six ploughs at 13s.		3	18	0
Three fetts of geers		3	0	0

£. 209 8 0

CURSE OF THE FURNACE

Brought over	800
Six Cars at 25s.	150
Sundry tools, &c.	100
Seed 40 acres wheat	40 0 0
20 oats	13 0 0
4 barley	2 0 0
1 potatoes	2 10 0
10 clover	5 0 0
	62 10 0
For labour he will have three cottars for ploughing, &c. paid by land; for other work allow	40 0 0
County cess, 4d. an acre	13 10 0
Tythe, 40 wheat, 6s.	12 0 0
20 oats 4s.	4 0 0
4 barley 6s.	1 4 0
10 hay 4s.	2 0 0
	19 4 0
	352 2 0

IN respect of labour, every farmer has as many cottars as ploughs, whom they pay with a cabbin, and one acre of potatoes, reckoned at 30s. and a cow kept through the year 30s. more. Every cabbin has one or more cows, a pig, and some poultry. Their circumstances just the same as 20 years ago. Their food potatoes and milk for nine months of the year; the other three wheat bread, and as much butter as the cow gives. They like the potatoe fare best. Some have herrings; and others 6s. to 10s. worth of beef at christmas. Sell their poultry; but many of them eat their pigs. The sale of the fowls buys a few pounds of flax for spinning, most of them having some of that employment. They are not much given

CURRAGH OF KILDARE. 7

to stheaving, except bushes and furze, which is all they have for fuel, there being no bog nearer than that of Allen. They bring turf eight and ten miles, the price 8d. a kish of three feet and a half, by three and five long, and 1s. 2d more carriage. A kish will last one common fire five days.

Expences of building a cabin.

Mud walls	—	2	0	0
Roof, 3 pair principals	—	0	9	0
4 dozen of rabberies, at 4s.	—	0	16	0
Labour	—	0	4	0
Wattles	—	0	6	0
Eight load of straw, 3s.	—	2	0	0
Thatching	—	0	8	0
Two doors	—	0	8	0
		£.	6	11
Mason's perch of a wall	—	0	3	0

WOMEN are paid 5d. a day, earn by spinning, 3d. A farming-man, 5l. 10s. a year. A lad, 1l. 10s. A maid, 2l. to 2l. 10s. Reaping, 6s. 6d. Mowing grass, 2s. 6d. to 3s. Pigeons, 3d. each. Rabbits, 8d. a couple.

To Kildare, crossing the Curragh, so famous for its turfs. It is a sheep walk of above 4000 English acres, forming a more beautiful lawn than the hand of art ever made. Nothing can exceed the extreme softness of the turf, which is of a verdure that charms the eye, and highly set off by the gentle inequality of surface. The soil is a fine dry loam on a stoney bottom; it is fed by many large flocks, turned on it by the occupiers of the adjacent farms, who alone

I have the right, and pay very great rents on that account. It is the only considerable common in the kingdom. The sheep yield very little wool, not more than 3lb. per fleece, but of a very fine quality.

From Furness to Shaen Castle, in the Queen's County, Dean Coote's; but as the husbandry, &c. of this neighbourhood is already registered, I have only to observe, that Mr. Coote was so kind as to show me the improved grounds of Dawson Court, the seat of Lord Carlow, which I had not seen before. The principal beauties of the place are the well grown and extensive plantations, which form a shade not often met with in Ireland. There is in the back grounds a lake well accompanied with wood, broken by several islands that are covered with underwood, and an ornamented walk passing on the banks, which leads from the house. This lake is in the season perfectly alive with wild fowl; near it is a very beautiful spot, which commands a view of both woods and water, a situation either for a house or a temple. Mr. Dawson is adding to the plantations, an employment of all others the most meritorious in Ireland. Another work scarcely less so, was the erecting a large handsome inn, wherein the same gentleman intends establishing a person who shall be able to supply travellers, post, with either chaises or horses.

From Shaen Castle to Gloster, in the King's County, the seat of John Lloyd, Esq; member for that county, to whose attention I owe the following particulars, in which he took every means to have me well and accurately informed. But first let me observe, that I was much pleased to remark, all the way from Naas to Rossera, that the country was amongst the finest

finest I had seen in Ireland, and consequently that I was fortunate in having an opportunity of seeing it after the involuntary omission of last year. The cabins, though many of them, are very bad, yet are better than in some other counties, and chimnies generally a part of them. The people too have no very miserable appearance; the breed of cattle and sheep good, and the hogs much the best I have any where seen in Ireland. Turf is every where at hand, and in plenty; yet are the bogs not so general as to affect the beauty of the country, which is very great in many tracts, with a scattering of wood, which makes it pleasing. Shaen Castle stands in the midst of a very fine tract. From Mountrath to Gloster, Mr. Lloyd's, I could have imagined myself in a very pleasing part of England; the country breaks into a variety of inequalities of hill and dale; it is all well inclosed, with fine hedges; there is a plenty of wood, not so monopolized as in many parts of the kingdom by here and there a solitary seat, but spread over the whole face of the prospect: look which way you will, it is cultivated and chearful.

THE King's county contains the following baronies, and annexed to their names is the value per acre of each: Clonlisk, 15s.—Ballibrit, 15s.—Eglisk, 13s.—Balliboy, 10s.—Garrycastle, 13s.—Gashill, 12s. Coolestown, 11.—Warrentown, 11. 5s.—Ballicowen, 11s.—Kilcoursy, 16s.—Upper and Lower Philipstown, 15s.—In Gashill are 13,000 acres belonging to Lord Digby; and in Warrentown is Croghen hill, famous for the great fleeces the sheep yield that are fed on it. A curragh sheep, from giving 3 lb. carried there, will yield 12 lb. but the quality is coarse. There are great tracts of bog in the county; and

25,000 acres that pay county charges; and 70,000 acres at 15s. and 30,000 of bog. The rise of rents since 1750, more than two-thirds, but are much fallen since 1772, in many farms, 4s. in the pound. Estates through the county are remarkably divided; and are in general small. The size of farms varies much, 600 acres are a very large one; usually not less than 100; very few in partnership. There are many farms without buildings, which if divided and built, would be much better. The arable system, when burning is permitted, is to plough in the spring, very thin, then cross cut it and burn the soil as soon as the season serves, which will be some time in June; plough in the ashes very lightly, and sow turnips; these they never hoe, which is said to be difficult, on account of the number of stones; they feed the crop on the land with three-year old wethers or lambs. After this, plough it up and fallow for a second crop of turnips, which they manage as the first, but feed them earlier; then plough once, and set it to the peat for potatoes, at 6l. 6s. to 6l. 10s. an acre, after which they sow bere upon one ploughing; this they succeed with wheat also on one ploughing; and after the wheat, oats. Then they summer and winter fallow, which is followed by wheat and oats as before; but by this time the land is quite exhausted. A partial burning is sometimes used, which is to break up in november, and plough twice or thrice by may, and then to burn what the harrow does not reduce. For wheat they plough once, as before-mentioned in the burning course; and four times on a fallow. Sow 20 stone to an acre; the crop five to six and a half barrels; the medium price of late 1l. 1s. a barrel. They sow a barrel of bere, of sixteen stone, the crop 14 to 23 barrels, which great produce is from the rich preparation. Of oats two barrels, or 24 stone, the crop 10

G L O S T E R. H

to 16 1 of barley they sow 16 stone, the crop 10 to 16. The price of bere and barley, 9s. 6d. No clover at all sown, nor any grass seeds, and very few pease or beans, as they never feed their pigs or horses with either. Very little flax. There are a few bleach yards about Glara, &c. but the business is not much upon the increase. Potatoes they plant in the common trenching way; the season from the middle of april to the middle of may; more after the first of may than before it; eight barrels plant an acre; they always weed them. The apple sort is preferred from lasting longest; the medium price 2d. a stone; twenty stone the barrel.

Account of an acre.

Planting, 48 men, the first and second trench		
at 8d.	—	1 12 0
Seed, at 3s. 4d.	—	1 6 6
Taking up, 48 men	—	1 12 0
Picking up, carrying home and sorting; horse-hire only, as the family does the rest		0 8 8
Rent	—	6 6 0
		<hr/> 11 5 2
P R O D U C E.		
100 barrels, at 3s. 4d.	—	16 13 4
Expences	—	11 5 2
Profit	—	<hr/> £. 5 8 2

Prime cost, 2s. 3d. a barrel. A barrel will last a family of five persons a week.

The turnips on the burnt land they sow from the 20th of july to the fourth of august, but a fortnight or three weeks earlier upon a fallow, the quantity of seed

feed till they never hoe; the price upon an average upon an acre, either to take away or feed on the land, but the former rarely done; they feed them off with fat sheep or lambs, very rarely with black cattle. No lime burnt for manure, nor any lime-stone gravel used, though plenty of it found all the country through. One farmer made an experiment of them both for corn, but neither answered; the general opinion is, its being bad for the grass afterwards; there is not any marle known; the farm-yard system incomplete, as every where else, foddering in the fields; but cows are kept in the house at night, and fed with hay for about five months in the winter. Their hay grounds they wish to shut up about the 25th of march, but if their hay is finished, they are obliged to be later; mow from the 15th of july to the 15th of september, which lateness is owing to their feeding so late in the spring. They usually upon the average of weather, and management, get it into the large cock in about ten days, and leave it in that from one to two months: the medium produce per acre, two tons and a quarter, and the price 30s. a ton; the women here never make it. Tillage is performed more with horses than with horned cattle; the latter only by considerable graziers, and they are usually spayed heifers, four horses or four heifers to a plough, which do half an acre a day; the depth, from the shallowness of the soil, not more than six or seven inches; the price 7s. 6d. an acre. Very few hogs kept, not more than for mere convenience.

To hire and stock a farm will, on an average, take 40s. an acre, if a grazing one; but less in proportion to the tillage; there are men who will hire on little or no capital, this, however, is much less than formerly, from

from several landlords having suffered severely from the
The tillage of the whole country is very inconsiderable; it is chiefly pasturage, not one acre in fifteen is tilled; the barony of Garrey-castle has much more; one reason of there not being more, is the number of farms, from 150 to 400 acres, under leases for ever, which are so highly improved by the tenants, that they abstain from tillage, under the idea of its being prejudicial. Respecting the labour of a farm, the standing business is done by cottars; a cottar is one who has a cabin, and an acre and a half of garden, charged at 30s. and the grass of one or two cows, at 25s. each, the daily pay 6d. the year through, the account being kept by tallies, and those charges deducted; the year's labour amounts to about 6l. after the cottar's time for his potatoes and turf is deducted; the remaining 40s. is paid in money, hay, or any thing else the man wants. The cows are fed by a field being assigned for all the cottars of the farm. No instance of a cottar without a cow. The calves they rear till half a year old, and then sell them at 12s. to 20s. which will pay for the cow's hay. They keep no sheep, but every cabin has a pig, a dog, and some poultry. No difference in their circumstances for the last fifteen years. It is here thought that it would be very difficult to nurse up a race of little farmers from the cottars, by adding land gradually to them at a fair rent; it would be also very difficult, if not impossible, to cut off the cottars from a farm; nobody would be troubled with such tenants, and no farmer would hire a farm with the poor on it independent of him, their cattle and all their property would be in constant danger; as the kingdom increases in prosperity, such ideas it is to be hoped will vanish. Their food is potatoes and milk for ten months, and potatoes

potato, and salt the remaining two; they have however a little butter. They sell their pig, their calf, and their poultry, nor do they buy meat for more than ten sundays in a year. Their fuel costs them about 14s. a year, eighty kish of turf an ample allowance. There is in every cabbin, a spinning-wheel, which is used by the women at leisure hours, or by a grown girl, but for twelve years 19 in 20 of them breed every second year.

Expence of a poor family.

Cabbin and garden	—	—	—	1	10	0
Labour in the garden	—	—	—	1	10	0
Two cows	—	—	—	2	10	0
Hay for ditto	—	—	—	1	10	0
Turf	—	—	—	0	14	0
Cloathing, 15s. a head	—	—	—	3	15	0
Tools	—	—	—	0	5	0
Hearth tax	—	—	—	0	2	0
				<u>£</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>16</u>
					<u>6</u>	

The Receipt.

The year	—	—	365 days			
Deduct sundays	52					
Bad weather	—	30				
Holydays	—	10				
		—	92			
			273 at 6d.	6	16	6
Two calves	—	—	1	10	0	
Pig	—	—	1	0	0	
Poultry	—	—	0	5	0	
				<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>
					<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>
						<u>6</u>
						Brought

Brought over 9 10 00
302 days spinning between the wife and
daughter, at 3d. 3 15 3

Expences 11 16 6

Remains for whisky, &c. &c. 6 10 9

Potatoes are much more the food than formerly; there are full twice as many planted. The cottars in their gardens follow the course of crops first mentioned. They are all very much addicted to pilfering: their general character idleness and dirtiness, and want of attention. They are remarkable for a most inviolable honour in never betraying each other, or even any body else, which results from a general contempt of order and law, and a want of fear of every thing but a cudgel; the reader will remember that maiming cattle, pulling down, and scattering stacks, and burning the houses of those who take lands over their heads are very well known. I am registering information, and that not from one or two persons, but several.

THE pasturage system is to buy in yearling calves, called *bull chins*, at from 35s. to 55s. (but twenty years ago, 22s. 9d. each), which they generally sell at Bannagher fair, when three years and an half, at 5l. 10s. to 6l. buying and selling regularly every year. They also buy cows in may, and sell them fat in autumn, with 40s. profit. Sheep they either breed, or buy *boggits* in may, at 12s. to 15s. each in the fleece, and sell them fat, at three years and an half old, from 11. 1s. to 11. 4s. each; they get three fleeces, worth 18s. the profit 10s. a head, keeping them three summers and two winters. No folding. Flocks rise from 100 to 2000,

2000, they calculate to keep a sheep to every acre of their farms. The fleeces, on an average of a running stock, are three to a stone of 16lb. The price, this year, 17s. 6d. twenty years ago only 9s. or 10s. Not much alteration in the number of sheep through the country. All fat ones, are in winter fed with turnips and a little hay. Their low lands rot; but being more careful than formerly, it is not so common as it was; that, with the *gid*, (a sudden giddiness) and the red waler, are the chief distempers they are troubled with. Milch cows are kept only for convenience, a few to every farm. An acre and half necessary to keep one the year through, but must have $1\frac{1}{4}$ ton of hay besides. One four or five years old ready for milk in the spring, sells for five or six guineas. A three years old heifer ready to calve, four or five guineas.

THE bounty on the inland carriage of flour to Dublin has occasioned the building several mills, five considerable ones; four were immediately built in consequence. The quantity of tillage has increased double in 20 years; probably from this cause, among others, has arisen the increase of whisky, the quantity of which is three times greater than fifteen years ago. Not less than 30,000 barrels of barley and bere are distilled yearly within 8 miles of Gloster. Land sells at 25 years purchase. Suppose six farms, one let for ever, at 20 years purchase, one for three lives, let 20 years ago, 25—one for two lives, ditto 28—one for one life, ditto 30—one for 31 years, 30—one to let now, 20. Average of all, 25 years. Ten years ago it would have been twenty-six and a half; twenty years ago twenty-three and a half. Leases are generally for three lives, or thirty-one years. The country in general is much improved in most national circumstances; buildings are much increased, on a larger

larger scale, and of a far better sort than twenty years ago; there is also a rise in the price of almost all commodities. *Prices not minuted in the table:* Rabbits, 8d. a couple. Roasting pigs, 2s. 6d. much beyond the proportion of other things. Rise in the price of meat, 1d. a lb. in twenty years, since which here has also advanced, from 6s. to 9s. 6d. the barrel of 16 stone. Womens labour, 4d. Wages of a farming man, 4l. ditto a boy, 1l. ditto a maid, 2l. From 10 to 14 men reap an acre of corn in a day. Mowing grass, by the acre, 2s. 8½d. two men do it in a day. Threshing wheat, 6d. a barrel. Bere, 4d. Oats, 3d. Cutting turf, footing, &c. 12s. the 120 kish.

BUILDING.

A common cabin, 5l. Ditto of stone,

10l. to 15l.

Walling, mason's perch work	—	0	0	7
One barrel lime	—	0	0	6
Seven load stone	—	0	1	1
Attendance	—	0	0	2
Sand and carriage	—	0	1	0

£. 0 3 4

Five feet high, therefore 16s. 8d.

A guinea a perch, 7 feet 6 inches high. Slates, 9s. 6d. a thousand. Slating, 1l. 2s. 9d. a square, every thing included. Oak, 1s. 3d. a foot. Ash and home fir, 1s. Lime, five-pence halfpenny a barrel, burnt, with turf in kilns on arches; two arches burn 400 barrels, the stone large. 400 kish of turf will burn 400 barrels; price of burning and filling from 2l. 5s. 6d. to a guinea and half.

SEPTEMBER 30th, took my leave of Mr. Lloyd, a gentleman from whose conversation I reaped equal instruction and amusement. Passed by Shinroad, Murderinny, and Graig, to Johnstown, the seat of Peter Holmes, Esq. Much of this line a very beautiful country; near Johnstown nothing can be more picturesque, the whole well planted with hedges and little woods, and consisting of the most fanciful variety of hill, dale, and swelling declivities, upon which every bush and tree is seen to advantage.

For the following particulars I am indebted to Mr. Holmes, who, notwithstanding his own ability to answer every question, trusted not to it, but called in the best assistance the neighbourhood could give. Baronies in the county of Tipperary: Lower Ormond, 20s. an acre.—Upper Ormond, 20s.—Skevin, 18s.—Eliogurty, 20s.—Owen and Aira, 12s.—Clanwilliam, 1l. 2s. 9d.—Middle third, 25s. Besides Iffa, Offa, and Kilnemanna. The whole county on an average would now let for 20s. an acre. Rents have doubled in twenty years. Through the whole barony of Lower Ormond, the soil is in general a dry lime-stone land. Farms are large, some very large, few less than 5 or 600 acres: the size is rather increased. There are many without any buildings, and it is only from particular circumstances that they let the better for them. The small farms are taken much in partnership; a parcel of labourers will take 1 or 200 acres. The common course of tillage is,

1. Pare, and burn for turnips. 2. Turnips. 3. Potatoes. 4. Bere. 5. Wheat. 6. Oats. 7. Grey pease. 8. Fallow. 9. Wheat. 10. Oats. 11. Lay out for grass quite exhausted. Also,

1. Fallow

1. Fallow turnips from the turf. 2. Turnips, and then as before.

The management is to plough the sod at christmas; in april or may cross plough it, and let it dry, burn as soon as dry, which will be sometimes in may; spread the ashes, plough once, and harrow in a pound and a half or two pounds of seed to the acre, from the 20th of june to the 4th of august. They never either hoe or weed. Begin to feed them upon the land in december with fat sheep, giving three or four acres at a time to 2 or 300 sheep; and one acre to 100 sheep, giving them at the same time hay in sheep racks: a middling acre will keep 13 from christmas to the first of april, being worth from two guineas to 3l. They are also commonly used for sheep and lambs in march and april. The profit upon fat sheep, from turnips only, will amount to from 7s. to 10s. a head. The land is ploughed three times for the second crop; but the turnips are not so sweet for sheep as the first, yet they sell as well: they must be eaten off first, as they will not stand so long as the others. The poor people hire this turnip land at six guineas to 7l. 10s. for planting potatoes. About ten years ago the price was four guineas to 5l. but the restrictions on paring and burning have lessened the quantity of it. For this potatoe crop one ploughing is given in march or april, six to eight barrels of seed planted; the favourite sorts are the apple potatoe for late, and the early wise for early use. They hand weed them carefully, and take them up the middle of november or beginning of december, the average crop 90 barrels.

Expences on an acre.

Rent	6	16	6
Seven barrels of seed, at 4s.	1	8	0
Planting, thirty men a day	0	16	0
Taking up, eighty men a day	2	0	8
	<hr/>		
	£	11	6

PRODUCE.

Ninety barrels, at 4s.	—	—	18	0	0
Expences	—	—	11	0	6
	<hr/>			<hr/>	
Profit	—	—	6	19	6

Prime cost, 2s. 5d. a barrel.

THE culture has increased very much, and been the means of reclaiming great tracts of land, which otherwise would never have been touched. The potatoe land they plough immediately for bere, and, if the weather be dry enough, sow 14 stone per acre, and get 16 barrels. For the wheat they plough thrice; sow in november 14 stone, and get 7 barrels.

It was in this neighbourhood Mr. Yelverton had his famous crop, which has been written so often in all the books of husbandry in Europe, but nobody here believed it. The account I had was this: that he selected the best acre in a field of 30, which he marked out; but his labourers knowing his intention, put many stooks from the adjacent parts of the field into that acre. Thus without any intentional deceit in the gentleman himself was the public completely deceived. From hence it appears, there was some reason for my proposing to the London society, to an-

nex to their premiums for the greatest crops, the condition of reaping, threshing, and measuring all in one day, and in the presence of witnesses which they adopted much against the opinion of several gentlemen who did not approve it.

For the oats they plough once, sow two barrels in march, and get on an average from 10 to 14. For the pease, they plough once, sow twenty stone broad cast, are so far from hoeing or weeding, that *they like to have weeds among them, by way of sticks!* get six or seven barrels an acre. The succeeding fallow is ploughed four times, the crop of wheat as good as after bere, but the following oats will not yield above eight or nine barrels. The medium prices of the preceding products have of late years been, Wheat, 20s. Bere, 10s. Oats, 5s. Pease, 6s. There are very few threshing floors of wood; but they make the clay ones so hard, that they think them as good. Flax is sown only by the cottars in their gardens; very few that do not sow some. Six pottles of seed on about four perch of land. They proportion it very exactly to their own consumption; it is wove by weavers, who make it their business to weave for others; and there are very few gentlemen that do not the same for the coarse linen of their families.

MARLE and lime-stone sand are the manures used here. They have two ways of improving waste land with marle: they plough and sow oats, and marle the stubble: or else they marle at first upon the lay: this is mostly practised in the Duharrow mountains, where it has worked very great improvements. It is a grey soapy marle, full of shells, dredged from the bottom of the Shannon. The expence of getting it, with boats

and carriage into the land, 40s. an acre. Lime-stone land is laid on at the end of an exhausting course, on the oat stubble: it costs about 50s. an acre. Very little lime used. No farm-yards; the hay is stacked in the fields where it is designed to be fed, and scattered about; and shame on them, they do the same with their straw: no wonder the farm-yard system is unknown, for they sell much of their corn in the stack in the field, which gentlemen buy for the straw. Great improvements have been made in the Duharrow mountains, inasmuch, that the tythes of one parish have risen from 70l. a year to 400l.

THE sheep in the Ormond baronies are kept chiefly for breeding; they do not sell the lambs till they become three year old wethers; give the ewes the ram at two years old, which supply the place of the old ewes, culled out and fattened at four years old, going five. In 170 there are 50 ewes, 40 lambs, 40 two year olds, 20 three year old wethers sold, 20 ewes kept, and 20 old ones sold. Ten are kept for accidents. The fat wethers sell at 20s. from grais, and 30s. from turnips; and the 20 culled ewes will sell at 20s. each; the wool of the whole, three fleeces to a stone. Mr. Robert Gowen has sold a score of four year old wethers at Dublin, for 59l. Their black cattle are in the succession way. To 1000 acres, besides 1500 sheep, they will buy in 180 year old calves every year, at 45s. bought in from may to september, the right time may and june; they keep them two years and an half, selling them in november, at 6l. to 8l. allowing three for losses, there would be 177 calves, 177 two year olds, 177 three year olds; in all 531. Also upon 1000 acres there are two breeding mares, and six colts, ten working heifers, four car horses, and ten milch cows; there

there would also be 100 acres of 1000 in tillage, ten of which under turnips every year, and fifty acres of hay mown; an instance out of thousands how little attention in Ireland is paid to providing a due quantity of winter food.

Mr. William Harden, thirty-two years ago, sold wool at 6s. 6d. a stone; it rose gradually for ten years to 10s. 6d. and did not get up to 15s. till about four years ago; but the price was very fluctuating, rising and falling suddenly without any evident reason; the weight of the fleeces have not encreased in thirty years, but the number of sheep is greater; turnips were commonly sown at that time. In black cattle however, there has been a great improvement, being much larger than formerly. Calves have risen in price as much as wool, such as now cost 45s. might, thirty years ago, have been had at 20s. Mr. Harden's father bought a two year old bullock for 5s. of a man now alive.

In tillage, bullocks and heifers are generally used, four in a plough, and they do not quite half an acre a day. Three ploughs will do an acre; they stir five inches deep. The price 6s. Pairing and burning take from twelve to forty men per acre, according to the dryness of the season. Labour is done by cottars, who have a cabbin and a garden of one acre, if only one man in family, but if the son is grown, two acres. The cabbin and one acre is reckoned at 20s. also two collops, at 20s. each, which are generally cows. All this he works out at 5d. a day, extra labour six pence half penny, and eight pence in harvest. They all have from one to three pigs, and much poultry. Their food potatoes for at least eleven months

months of the year, and one month of oat barley or
bere bread.

Expences and receipt of a cottar family.

Cabbin, and one acre rent	—	1	0	0
Two cows	—	2	0	0
One stone of broken wool	—	0	14	0
Weaving it	—	0	3	0
Weaving their linen	—	0	3	0
Hearth money	—	0	2	0
Tools	—	0	5	0
Tythe of one acre	—	0	5	0
Hire of half an acre potatoes	—	3	8	0
		<u>£. 8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

Receipt.

Two pigs	—	2	0	0
On an average of years the two cows will		2	0	0
yield three calves in two years		0	15	0
Poultry	—	0	15	0
Hire—365 days				
52 sundays				
15 holydays				
20 bad weather				
48 sickness and their own work				
135	—	4	16	0
230 at 5d.	—	9	11	0
Expences	—	8	0	0
Remains for unspecified articles		<u>£. 1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>0</u>

It is a general remark, that industrious and attentive men will earn 5l. in the year. The circumstances of the poor are much better than they were twenty years ago, for their land and cabbins are not charged to them by gentlemen higher than they were 30 years back, while all they sell bears double the price. Potatoes are rather more cultivated and eaten than twenty years ago, and are managed better. The poor in this neighbourhood are by no means to be accused of a general spirit of thieving. It arises from holding them in too much contempt, or from the improper treatment of their superiors. No white boys have ever arisen in these baronies, nor any riots that last longer than a drunken bout at a fair: nothing that has obstructed the execution of justice. There is no objection to cutting off the cottars from a farm, and making them tenants to the landlord, upon the score of difficulty in letting a farm without cottars upon it, provided they were kept perfectly distinct by a good fence. Nor is there any doubt but out of them a race of little farmers might be gradually formed. Land at improved rents sells at 20 years purchase. Rents are doubled in 20 years; they are not fallen since 1772. Leases are usually for three lives, or thirty-one years. The interest of money has certainly risen, and the year's purchase of land fallen in twenty years; yet in the same period it is undoubted that the kingdom has improved greatly, which has the appearance of a contradiction. Buildings have very much increased in all the towns, and in a stile far superior to former periods.

TYTHES are very rarely taken in kind. Bere and wheat pay 6s. an acre. Barley and oats, 3s. Potatoes, 6s.

69. They are generally let to prebends, who are severe to the poor, and very indulgent to gentlemen. The rigor, however, does not extend beyond those prices. The bounty on the inland carriage of corn has occasioned the building some mills, which, united with the turnip husbandry, and the vast increase of whisky, have altogether much increased tillage.

Prices not in the tables. Labour of a woman or boy in harvest, 4d. Mowing grass, 2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d. Hire of a car, a day, 1s. 3d. to 1s. 8d. Building a cabin of stone and slate, 25l. Walling the mason's perch, 4s. Lime, per barrel, 7½d. at Newagh. Culm per barrel 3s. One burns nine of lime, in some places only six.

Quarrying the stones	—	—	—	—	0	0	0
Breaking and burning	—	—	—	—	0	0	3
Culm	—	—	—	—	0	0	4

Oak timber, 50s. to 3l. a ton. Fir, 40s.

Wild ducks, 1s. 6d. a couple. Teal, 9d. ditto. Widgeon, 6d. ditto. Rabbits, 8d. ditto. Trout, 5lb. for 1s. Salmon, 2d. per lb. Fresh water fish in general, 2½d. a lb. Oysters, 2s. per 120. The Shannon adds not a little to the convenience and agreeableness of a residence so near it. Besides affording these sorts of wild fowl, the quantity and size of its fish are amazing. Pikes swarm in it, and rise in weight to 50 lb. In the little flat spaces on its banks are small but deep lochs, which are covered in winter and in floods; when the river withdraws, it leaves plenty of fish in them, which are caught to put into stews. Mr. Holmes has a small one before his door at Johnstown, with a little stream which feeds it; a trowling rod

rod here gets you a bite in a moment, of a pike from 20 to 40 lb. I eat of one of 27 lb. so taken; I had also the pleasure of seeing a fisherman bring three trouts, weighing 14 lb. and sell them for six-pence halfpenny a piece. A couple of boats lying at anchor, with lines extended from one to the other, and hooks in plenty from them, have been known to catch an incredible quantity of trout. Colonel Prittie, in one morning, caught four stone, odd pounds, thirty-two trouts; in general they rise from 3 to 9 lb. Perch swarm; they appeared in the Shannon for the first time about ten years ago, in such plenty that the poor lived on them. Bream of 6 lb. Eels very plentiful. There are many gillarops in the river, one of 12 lb. weight was sent to Mr. Jenkinson. Upon the whole, these circumstances, with the pleasure of shooting and boating on the river, added to the glorious view it yields, and which is enough at any time to cheer the mind, render this neighbourhood one of the most enviable situations to live in that I have seen in Ireland. The face of the country gives every circumstance of beauty. From Killodeernan-hill, behind the new house building by Mr. Holmes, the whole is seen to great advantage. The spreading part of the Shannon, called Loch Derg, is commanded distinctly for many miles; it is in two grand divisions of great variety. That to the north is a reach of five miles leading to Portumna. The whole hither shore a scenery of hills, checkered by inclosures and little woods, and retiring from the eye into a rich distant prospect. The woods of Doras, belonging to Lord Clanrickard, form a part of the opposite shore, and the river itself presents an island of 120 acres. Inclining to the left, a vale of rough ground, with an old castle in it, is backed by a bold

bold hill, which intercepts the river, and then the great reach of 15 miles the bay of Sheriff, spreads to the eye, with a magnificence not a little added to by the boundary, a sharp outline of the county of Clare mountains, between which and the Dubarrow hills, the Shannon finds its way. These hills lead the eye still more to the left, till the Keeper meets it, presenting a very beautiful outline that sinks into other ranges of hill, uniting with the Devil's Bit. The home scenery of the grounds, woods, hills, and lake of Johnstown, is beautiful.

Mr. Holmes has practiced agriculture upon an extensive scale, and not without making some remarks, which will be of use to others. He has not for five or six years past been without a small field of Scotch cabbages. The seed he sows both in march and autumn for use at different seasons; the rows he plants three feet asunder and two feet from cabbage to cabbage. He has used them for fat sheep and fat cattle, but principally for weaned calves: they have answered perfectly well in all, but remarkably so with the calves, of which Mr. Holmes has had the best in the country, and singly from being thus fed. His people were all of opinion, that a good acre of cabbages will go as far as two acres of turnips, worth each 3l. Two years ago a violent frost stopped the use of turnips, and he then found the benefit of cabbages prodigiously great. He has always manured for them with dung or marle, the former best.

RAPE CAKE,

Mr. Holmes has used as a manure, with great success: in 1775, he dressed two acres of worn out meadow, with a ton and a half an acre, at 2l. 2s. per ton;

top; and in 1776, he laid on seven tons, at 1^d. per acre: the first trial was made too late, and a dry season coming, the effect was not great. The last year it was laid on the fifth of april, when the effect was remarkably great: it threw up a most luxuriant crop of the finest herbage, insomuch, that he is convinced nothing can answer better, and is determined to extend the practice considerably. He has tried it on low, wet, and on upland, and the effect infinitely greater on the latter. In the same field, Mr. Holmes fed 150 sheep some months, on the produce of seven acres of turnips, going over nine acres of grass; the benefit to the latter did not near equal that of the rape, except in the destruction of moss, which was destroyed by both methods.

CLOVER. (*trifolium pratense*).

Mr. Holmes has used this grass these six years; he began with six acres, and has extended it as far as seventeen last year: sows 24 lb. of seed per acre. The crops as good as he has seen in England; has mown it twice, but now feeds the second growth. He has tried it on dry lime-stone hills, which are slow in coming to grass, but answer well in clover. For his sheep he finds it of great use. Ewes lamb here about the 17th of march, and when turnips are done, want the clover very much: also in keeping fat sheep for a late market. Course of crops,

1. Turnips on old turf, two ploughings and a slight burning. 2. Turnips. 3. Barley, yielding 18 barrels. 4. Clover. 5. Clover. 6. Wheat, yielding 8 barrels. 7. Oats, ditto 15. Also,

1. Man-

1. Manure a stubble for cabbages. 2. Potatoes.
 3. Barley, 20 barrels. 4. Clover. 5. Clover. 6. Wheat.
 7. Oats.

OCTOBER 3d, taking my leave of Johnstown and its agreeable and hospitable family, I took the road towards Derry, the seat of Michael Head, Esq; through a country much of it bordering on the Shannon, and commanding many fine views of that river; but its nakedness, except at particular places, takes off much from the beauty of the scenery. Near to Derry there are some finer views. From one hill, the road commands the bay of Skeriff, Loch Derg back to Johnstown; and the river turning under the hills of Ach-nis, a promontory of wood, which separates them, is fully seen: there are also many hedges, so well grown with scattered trees as to have a pleasing effect. I found Mr. Head, on my arrival, just going to dine with a neighbour, Mr. Parker, whose father had worked a very fine mountain improvement, and who would probably be there: this was a sufficient inducement, had there been no other, for me to accompany him. I found Mr. Parker's house so near the river, as sometimes to be washed by it. The improvement I had heard of is a hill of above 40 acres, which was covered with ling, (*erica vulgaris*) furze, (*salix europæus*) &c. and not worth 6d. an acre thirty-two years ago when the work was begun. He grubbed, ploughed it, and sowed oats, and marled the stubble from the Shannon; the marle, from the steepness of the hill, being carried on the backs of oxen. Upon this he took a crop of wheat, and another of oats, both exceedingly fine, and with the latter sowed the seeds for the grass, which still remains, and has been improving ever since; it is now worth 30s. an acre, and a very pleasing object to the eye, especially
of

since Mr. Parker, junior, has added to the fineness of the verdure and herbage by feeding it with many sheep.

IN the same conversation I also learned a few particulars of a bog of twelve acres, part of one of 150, improved by Mr. Minchin, near Nenagh. The first operation was to cut main drains six feet deep, and cross ones of 18 inches or two feet, and as soon as it was a little firm, it was covered with lime-stone gravel three inches thick, before the bog would bear a car; done by beginning at the edge, and advancing on the part gravelled. Part was tilled, and part left for grass without ploughing: the meadow thus formed has been exceedingly fine. One uncommon circumstance was, the improver having paved the bottom of the drains with gravel, in order to prevent cattle from being bogged in them. The expence of the whole work, 8l. an acre. The profit immense.

IT is to Mr. Head's attention that I am indebted for the following particulars concerning the barony of Owna and Arra. The soil is a light gravelly loam, on a slaty rock, which is almost general through the whole. The rent on an average, 15s. for profitable land, and 1s. for mountrin; and as there is about half and half, the whole will be 8s. The rise of rent, in twenty years, is about double. Estates are generally large, scarce any so low as 5 or 600l. a year. Farms are all small, none above 3 or 400 acres: many are taken in partnership, three, four, or five families to 100 acres. They divide the land among themselves, each man taking according to his capital. The terms *rundale* and *chargedale* unknown, as is the latter practice. There are no farms without buildings upon them. Laying out money in building better houses

houses would pay no interest at all, as they were perfectly satisfied with their mud cabbins. Courses of crops on reclaimed mountain.

1. Marle for oats. 2. Bere. 3. Bere. 4. Wheat. 5. Oats, or English barley. 6. Oats. 7. Oats. 8. Oats. 9. Oats. 10. Oats. The number of these crops of oats proportioned to the quantity of marle laid on; but the rule is to take as long as the land will yield, and then leave it to recover itself by weeds. Another course:

1. Potatoes in drills on an exhausted stubble. 2. Bere. 3. Oats. 4. Oats. 5. Oats. 6. Oats, and so on till none will be got.

THE quantity of wheat is very little; for that little they sow a barrel an acre, and get 8 barrels; medium price 10d. to 13d. a stone. Of bere they sow a barrel, and get 15. Of oats sow two barrels, the produce 8 to 15, according to being early or late in the course. Price of bere six-pence to seven-pence halfpenny. Oats, four-pence to six-pence per stone. No peas, beans, clover, or turnips; but they have little patches of flax for their own consumption. Potatoes they very generally cultivate in drills; plough the stubble twice or thrice, and then open trenches with the plough three feet asunder; in which they put some dung, lay the sets on it, and cover them with the plough if they have horses, or if not with shovels. They keep them clean by constant earthing up with ploughs or shovels. They dig them out, the produce thirty-five barrels per acre. They find that nothing is so good and clean a fallow for corn. Some poor people hire grass land for them in the lazy bed way, paying 3l. to 5l. 10s. per acre. The only manure used besides dung is the shelly marle, dredged up from the bottom of the Shannon.

Mr.

Mr. Head's grandfather was the first who introduced that method of getting it by bringing men from Dublin used to raising ballast. It proved so profitable, that the use has been much increased since. It lies irregularly in banks, from 100 to 200 yards from the shore, and under 10 or 12 feet of water in summer, which is the only time they can get it. The price of raising is from 1s. to 2s. according to circumstances, besides finding boat, ropes, and all tackle; a boat contains 60 bushels, and requires five men. They land it on a quay, from whence it is taken in sledge carts to some distance for drying, nor is it dry enough for carting away till the year following. Some think it worth carrying one mile, and even two. The common people do not lay on more than four or five boat loads to an acre, but Mr. Head always ten, and the whole expence he calculates at 40s. Much bad land has been reclaimed by it, and to great profit. All their dung is used for potatoes. The tillage of the common people is done with horses, four in a plough, which do half an acre a day: gentlemen use four oxen. The price 8s. an acre. No paring and burning. They shut up their meadows for hay in march or april, and rarely begin to mow till september. I should remark, that I saw the hay making or marring all the way (october 3d) from Johnstown hither, with many fields covered with water, and the cocks forming little islands in them. They are generally two months making it; the crop one to one ton and a half per acre.

THERE is no regular system of cattle in this barony, there not being above four or five graziers; but gentlemen, in their domains, have all the different systems. The common farmers keep a few of most sorts of cattle, except fat ones. No large flocks of sheep, but

every farmer a few breeding ewes. The fleeces four to a stone. They sell either lambs, hoggets, or two or three year olds; the price of a two-year old ewe, 10s. they have no winter food but grass, even the gentlemen have their fat mutton all winter from the low grass lands on the Shannon, without either hay or turnips. The marled land has a remarkable spring of grass in the winter; the rot is very little known. All keep pigs, which are much increased of late; their pork, 3s. a cwt. last year at Limerick; Mr. Head has known it so low as 14s. No proportion between cows and pigs.

In hiring farms, many will take them in partnership with no other capital than a little stock of cattle. Difficult to fix the number of years purchase at which land sells. None has been sold in this barony in Mr. Head's memory. Leases to protestants three lives. The common mode of labour is that of cottars: they have a cabbin and an acre for 30s. and 30s. more the grafs of a cow, reckoning with them at five-pence a day the year round; other labour vibrates from four-pence to six-pence. A cottar with a middling family will have two cows; there is not one without a cow. All of them keep as many pigs as they can rear, (and some poultry. Their circumstances are rather better than 20 years ago.

A cottar's expences.

Rent of a cabbin and an acre	10	20
Two cows	3	00
Hay for ditto, one ton	15	00
Tythe	4	00
Hearth money	0	20

6. 6. 00

One

Brought over		6	11	0
One stone of wool a year for the man, one for the woman, and two stones for three children; this is what they ought to have, but the fact does not exceed two stone, one at 17s. and one at 8s.				
Tools		0	5	0
Turf, whether bought or in their own labour		1	0	0
Flax seed, five or six pottles, at 8d.		0	3	6
Breaking and scutching, eight stone, at 10d.		0	6	8
Heckling ditto, at 10d.		0	6	8
Weaving 336 bangles, at 1s. 1d. a score		0	16	6
N. B. After heckling 56lb. flax, the rest is tow, which they spin for bags, &c.				
Two pair of brogues, 9s. 9d. and 4 pair soles, 1s. 10d. each, 7s. 4d.		0	17	1
A pair of woman's shoes, 3s. 3d. and a pair of soles, 1s. 5d.		0	4	8
A boy of fourteen, two pair, at 2s. 2d. soles, 1s. 10d.		0	3	3
A hat, 2s. 8d. the boy one, 1s. 6d.		0	4	2
		<hr/>		
		£. 12 3 6		

His receipt.

Deduct from	365 days	
Sundays	52	
Holyday	1	
Bad weather	10	
Own work	48	
	<hr/>	111
Remain at 5d.	254	
	D 2	5 5 10
		The

Brought over — 5 3 10
 The boy of twelve or fourteen, three pence
 halfpenny a day — 3 14 11
 Two pigs, one eat, the other sold for 0 15 6
 Two calves, one 20s. one 10s. 10 10 0

— 10 10 0
 L. 11 4 11
 N. B. Chickens and ducks pay for salt, soap and
 candles, and they eat the geese.

WHEN my informant, who was a poor man, had
 finished, I demanded how the 20s. deficiency, with
 whisky, and the priest, were to be paid; the answer
 was, that *he must not eat his geese and pig, or else not dress
 so well*, which probably is the case. Their acre of
 garden feeds them the year through; nine months on
 potatoes, and the other three on oaten bread, from
 their own oats. The consumption of potatoes not in-
 creased in twenty years. A family of five persons will
 eat and waste forty-two stone of potatoes in a week.
 They are not addicted in any remarkable degree to
 thieving. The cottars of a farm might easily be taken
 from it, and yet the farm let without difficulty, for
 the tenant would soon have others; but it is questioned
 whether they could easily be made farmers of.

DANCING is very general among the poor people,
 almost universal in every cabin. Dancing-masters of
 their own rank travel through the country from cabin
 to cabin, with a piper or blind fidler; and the pay is
 six-pence a quarter. It is an absolute system of edu-
 cation. Weddings are always celebrated with much
 dancing; and a Sunday rarely passes without a dance;
 there are very few among them who will not, after a
 hard day's work, gladly walk seven miles to have a
 dance.

dance. *John* is not so lively, but then a hard day's work with him is certainly a different affair from what it is with *Paddy*. Other branches of education are likewise much attended to, every child of the poorest family learning to read, write, and cast accounts. There is a very antient custom here, for a number of country neighbours among the poor people, to fix upon some young woman that ought, as they think, to be married; they also agree upon a young fellow as a proper husband for her; this determined, they send to the fair one's cabbin to inform her, that on the Sunday following *she is to be horsed*, that is, carried on men's backs. She must then provide whisky and cyder for a treat, as all will pay her a visit after mas for a hurling match. As soon as *she is horsed*, the hurling begins, in which the young fellow appointed for her husband has the eyes of all the company fixed on him; if he comes off conqueror, he is certainly married to the girl, but if another is victorious, he as certainly loses her, for *she is the prize of the victor*. These trials are not always finished in one Sunday, they take sometimes two or three, and the common expression when they are over is, that *such a girl was goal'd*. Sometimes one barony hurls against another, but a marriageable girl is always the prize. Hurling is a sort of cricket, but instead of throwing the ball in order to knock down a wicket, the aim is to pass it through a bent stick, the ends stuck in the ground. In these matches they perform such feats of activity, as ought to evidence the food they live on to be far from deficient in nourishment.

TYTHES—Potatoes, 5s. Wheat, barley, bere, 5s. Oats, 2s. 6d. Meadow, 2s. They are in the management of proctors, but the greatest hardship attending

them, in the poor man paying for his garden, while the rich grazier pays nothing, owing to the famous vote of the house of commons.

THERE is only one flour mill in the barony, and the increase of tillage is very trifling, but the whiskey stills at Killaloe, trebled in five or six years. Prices out in the tables: Wild ducks, 1s. a couple. Teal, 6d. Plover, 2d. Salmon, three halfpence to 3d. per lb. Large pike, 2s. 6d. each. Trout, of 12 inches long, 1d. each. Eels, 1s. a dozen, ten a penny in summer, three in winter. Women's labour in harvest, 3d. in winter, 2d. Maid's wages, 1l. 10s. A lad's, 1l. 8s. Mowing, per acre, 2s. 4d. Women earn by spinning, 3d. Hire of a car, with man and horse, 1s. 6d. Threshing wheat, per barrel, 6d. Bere, 4d. Oats, two pence halfpenny. Barley, 3d.

BUILDING.

A mud cabin,	4l.	Ditto of stone and slate,	20l.
A dry wall, five feet high, building	—	—	9s. 10c. 3
Labour coping	—	—	0 10 6
Dashing	—	—	0 9 0 1/2
Lime, two barrels	—	—	0 1 4
Sand	—	—	0 0 2
			<hr/>
			4. 0 3 5

Besides carrying the stones, the mason's perch of house walling, 1s. 6d. All materials paid at the spot. Oak bark, 8l. to 9l. a ton. Cars are made by hatchet men, at 6d. a day.

Timber and labour of one	—	—	0 10 0
Iron	—	—	0 10 0
			<hr/>
			6. 1 0 0

In

In the hills above Derry are some very fine slate quarries, that employ 60 men. The quarrymen are paid 3s. a thousand for the slates, and the labourers, 5d. a day. They are very fine, and sent by the Shannon to distant parts of the kingdom; the price at the quarry, 6s. a thousand, and at the shore, 6s. 8d. 1200,000 slates are raised to pay the rent only, from which some estimate may be made of the quantity.

Mr. Head has made some considerable improvements of waste or rough land by means of marle. His first was a field of 14 acres 10 years ago; the soil light, as before described, of the country in general; the spontaneous growth, furze and fern, worth 5s. an acre. He cleared it from stones, which were used for building; the expence small, marled it, and sowed five crops of corn, and with the last of them hay seeds; it became a meadow in two years, and is now worth 30s. an acre. The next was a field of eight acres, the same soil; he broke it up for potatoes, then took one crop of corn, marled it on the stubble, and sowed five crops of corn, laying down with the fifth. Worth 8s. an acre before, now 30s. Five acres and an half were also done, marled on the surface, the effect little; it was therefore ploughed up in four or five years, yielded two crops of good turnips, two of English barley, and then laid down. It is now worth 30s. an acre. The next attempt was upon 16 acres, not worth 2s. 6d. an acre, over-run with furze, fern, and heath, with so many stones that clearing them away cost 10s. an acre. Ploughed and burnt it, and took two crops of turnips, then two of oats. Left it to itself for five or six years, and then marled it, since it has yielded four crops of corn, and is now worth

The last improvement is a field of 30 acres, which has been lately marled.

Mr. Head has 400 sheep, they consist of 100 breeding ewes, — 100 lambs, — 84 hoggits, — 70 three year old wethers and culled ewes, fat, — 46 two year old wethers. He sells annually

Fifty fat wethers

57 9 0

Fifty culled ewes, at 18s.

45 0 0

Four hundred fleeces, 133 stone, at 18s.

119 14 0

£. 221 14 0

Mr. Head has a practice in his fences which deserves universal imitation: it is planting trees for gate-posts. Stone piers are expensive, and always tumbling down; trees are beautiful, and never want repairing. Within 15 years this gentleman has improved Derry so much, that those who had only seen it before, would find it almost a new creation. He has built a handsome stone-house, on the slope of a hill rising from the Shannon, and backed by some fine woods, which unite with many old hedges well planted to form a woodland scene, beautiful in the contrast to the bright expanse of the noble river below: the declivity, on which these woods are, finishes in a mountain, which rises above the whole. The Shannon gives a bend around the adjoining lands, so as to be seen from the house both to the west and north, the lawn falling gradually to a margin of wood on the shore, which varies the outline. The river is two miles broad, and on the opposite shore cultivated inclosures rise in some places almost to the mountain top, which is very bold. It is a singular demesne, a stripe of

of very beautiful ground, reaching two miles along the banks of the river, which forms his fence on one side, with a wall on the other. There is so much wood as to render it very pleasing, adding to every day by planting all the fences made or repaired. From several little hills, which rise in different parts, extensive views of the river are commanded quite to Portumna; but these are much eclipsed by that from the top of the hill above the slate quarry. From thence you see the river for at least 40 miles, from Portumna to 20 miles beyond Limerick. It has the appearance of a fine basin, two miles over, into which three great rivers lead, being the north and south course and the bay of Skeriff. The reaches of it one beyond another to Portumna are fine. At the foot of the mountain Mr. Head's demesne extends in a shore of rich woodland.

On October 7th, took my leave of that gentleman, after passing four days with him very agreeably. Through Killaloe, over the Shannon, a very long bridge of many arches; went out of the road to see a fall of that river at Castle Connel, where there is such an accompaniment of wood as to form a very pleasing scenery; the river takes a rapid rocky course, around a projecting rock, on which a gentleman has built a summer-house, and formed a terrace: it is a striking spot. To Limerick. Laid at Bennis's, the first inn we had slept in from Dublin. Preserve us from another!

The 8th, leaving that place, I took the road through Palace to Cullen. The first six or seven miles from Limerick has a great deal of corn, which shews that tillage is gaining even upon bullocks themselves. I observed with much pleasure, that all the cottars had their little

little gardens surrounded with banks well planted with olera. To the Rev. Mr. Lloyd, at Castle Lloyd, near Cullen, a gentleman who I found as able and willing as he had been represented, to give me the intelligence I wished relative to the grazing grounds around him. The following particulars, which I owe to him, concern more immediately the barony of Clanwilliam in Tipperary; the same in Limerick, Small County, and the part of Coonagh next Clanwilliam. In these parts the soil and management are much the same: that of Coonagh nearly, but not quite equal. The soil is a loam of a yellowish brown, friable, but putrid and mixed with a small quantity of grit stones upon a lime-stone rock, at the depth of two, three, and four feet; much of it is very dry, but the richest has what is here called a *tender moist skin*, which yields so much to the tread of beasts that it breaks under them: the richer and the more improved it is, the more so. It is a great error to assert, that it would not do for tillage, for there is none better for the purpose if properly managed. The average rent of the rich parts of this tract is 30s. an acre. In Coonagh there are 19,313 acres, half of it not worth 5s. an acre, being mountainous. In the last twenty years, the rents of the rich lands have risen about a fourth, and two-thirds since the year 1748.

AVERAGE of the county of Tipperary, 12s. 6d.
Ditto of Limerick, 10s. 6d. Ditto of Corke, 5s.

ESTATES are generally very large, but some so low as 300l. a year. Farms rise from small ones in partnership to 5 or 6000 acres. The tillage acts have had the effect of lessening them evidently. The great system of this district is that of grazing. Bullocks are bought

Bought in at the fairs of Ballinacree, Newport, Bannagher, Toomavarra, &c. in the months of september, october, and november, the prices from 5l. to 8l. average, 6l. Twenty years ago beasts were bought at 40s. which now could not be got under 4l. the prices having doubled, allowing at the same time for the improved size of beasts. As soon as bought, they are turned into the coarsest ground of the farm; the fattening stock being put into the after-grass, the lean ones are turned after them; if the farmer has a tract of mountain, they will be turned into that at first. They are put to hay after christmas, and kept at it till may. An acre of hay for three bullocks is reckoned a good allowance, the quantity will be from three to four tons. It is given scattered upon the ground in dry fields, till the latter end of april, or the beginning of may, when they are collected into a small space, in order for the grass elsewhere to grow. About the 10th of may they are put to graze for the summer; and in this, the method is to turn into every field the stock which they imagine will be maintained by it, and leave the whole there till fat. The Corke butchers come in july and august to make their bargains, and begin to draw in september, continuing to take them till december. Some graziers keep them with hay till the market rises, but it is not a common practice. It is thought that they begin to lose flesh about the 20th of november, and that after the 1st, nothing is gained. Average selling price, 9l. 10s. It vibrates from 8l. to 11l. 10s.

ANNEXED to this bullock system is that of buying in bull calves, six months old, in september and october, from 20s. to 40s. each, some to 3l. these are fed in well sheltered fields with grass and hay, and sold in may and june with 20s. profit upon an average. One acre

acre of hay will yield enough for nine calves; the proportion is, to buy a calf to every acre. Upon other parts of the farm, where calves are not fed in this manner, sheep are substituted. Much land is hired here by Tipperary farmers, who bring their sheep to it; and where this is not the case, the Limerick farmers have both coarse and rich land, which enables them to go into sheep. They keep stocks of breeding ewes. If a man has 100 ewes, he will have 100 lambs, 100 yearlings, 100 two-year olds, 100 three-year olds; selling every year 50 three-year old fat wethers, and 50 culled ewes, viz.

50 wethers, at 25s.	—	—	—	62	10	0
50 culled ewes, fat, 23s	—	—	—	57	10	0
400 fleeces, 133 stone of wool, at 15s.	—	—	—	99	15	0
<hr/>				<hr/>		
500 Total flock				£.	219	15 0

If a man has only rich land in those baronies, without any in Tipperary, then he keeps only bullocks regularly; but he buys in some *hoggit* sheep, which he keeps a year, and sells fat. The Tipperary system is supposed to be the most profitable, for they have given more for the Limerick lands than the Limerick people themselves. Besides these methods, there is another, which is buying in cows in march, april, may, and june, at 3l. to 6l. each, and selling them fat with 40s. profit. This is very profitable, but subject to difficulties, for they are troublesome to pick up, and much subject to distempers.

Calculation of the profit of grazing bullocks.

One bullock bought in at	—	—	6	0	0
Rent of one acre and one third	—	—	2	0	0
County cess, at 9d.	—	—	0	1	0
Mowing, making, carting, and stacking hay	—	—	3	0	0
Herdsmen, at 12l. a year	—	—	0	2	0
Losses on stock, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.	—	—	0	0	6
			8	6	6
Interest of 8l. at 6 per cent	—	—	0	9	7
			8	16	1

P R O D U C E.

Sale of a bullock	—	—	9	0	0
Value of the after-grass of one third of an acre	—	—	0	3	4
			9	3	4
Expences	—	—	8	16	1
Profit on one acre and one third	—	—	0	7	3
Which is per acre	—	—	£. 0	5	6

This profit is, I think, very low, so low that nothing but the ease with which grazing is carried on, could induce a man to be satisfied with it.

THE size to which oxen now come upon this rich land is $5\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. twenty years ago it was $4\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. the additional $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. is owing not to any improvement in the land, or management, but of the breed.

PARTICULARS of a grazing farm at Cullen. 120 acres in all. 110 bullocks. 40 lambs. 4 cows. 7 acres of meadow. $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre, herdsman's garden. 2 acres of orchard. 246l. rent, or 41s. per acre.

THE

and the number of sheep kept in this neighbourhood has decreased, owing to the division into smaller farms. The winter food for them in the rich tracts is grass, except in snows, when they turn them to their hay stacks, they are very little troubled with the rot. The rise in the price of wool, 5s. a stone in 30 years. There are but few dairies; the little farmers have the chief. The breed of cows is generally half english, half irish. They are kept on the poorest grounds $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre, or $1\frac{1}{4}$, keeps a cow the year round; the usual product is 1 cwt. of butter, and 20s. horn money, or 3l. in all; the winter food hay, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre to each. The calf is always reared; valued when it drops at 2s. 6d. or 3s. the medium price of a cow, 5l. There have been many english bulls introduced for improving the cattle of the country, at a considerable expence, and great exertions in the breed of sheep; some persons, Mr. Dexter chiefly, have brought english rams, which they let out at seventeen guineas a season, and also at 10s. 6d. a ewe, which indicates a spirited attention. Hogs all the way from Limerick are of a very good breed, far superior to the common Irish, and the number greatly increased.

RESPECTING tillage, the chief is done by little farmers, for the graziers apply themselves solely to cattle. It is entirely connected with breaking up grass for potatoes—the quantity small.

1. Grass potatoes. 2. Potatoes. 3. Bere. 4. Oats.
 5. Oats, and then leave it for grass without sowing any seeds. With gentlemen it is,
 1. Potatoes. 2. Ditto. 3. Wheat. 4. Oats, or english barley. 5. Oats, left smooth to grass itself.—
- Shame to them for being as bad farmers as the paddies!

The grass is let for the potatoe crop to the poor people, who pay from 5l. to six guineas an acre for it;

no manure used; nine barrels of seed at 20 stone, plant here; the usual season april, and the beginning of may. In planting, they dig the whole ground, except the two first fods, and when they have got seven or eight feet, form trenches in the common manner; they weed them carefully; the produce about 120 barrels per acre; price 2s. to 3s. 6d. a barrel; they pay as much rent for the second crop as the first, and it is as good, though they don't plant it, trusting to the little potatoes left in the ground, and which they spread in digging; but this is a most slovenly practice; if they were to plant the second crop it would be better than the first, provided it is as good without it.

Expenses of an acre.

Rent	6	0	0
Nine barrels of seed, at 3s.	1	7	0
Planting, and digging, 16 men, at 8d.	0	10	8
Planting, 12 children, at 4d.	0	4	0
	0	14	8
Trenching, 12 men	0	8	0
Cutting sets, eight women, at 4d.	0	2	8
Second trenching, six men	0	4	0
	1	9	4
	8	16	4
Digging out, twenty-six men, at 8d.	0	17	4
Picking, twelve women	0	4	0
Carrying home, two horses	0	3	0
Tythe	0	11	0
	10	11	8

PRODUCE.

CASTLE LLOYD

that 3l. an acre will do for a grazing farm, but much less for a tillage farm. **Produce.** One hundred and twenty, at 3s. 18 0 8
Expences 10 11 8
Profit 7 7 8 4

Prime cost, 1s. 2½d. per barrel.

THEY do not plough the potatoe land for bere at all, but trench it in with spade and shovel, sow six bushels an acre, and get 20 barrels, at 7s. on an average. They then plough once for oats, sow six bushels, and get 16 to 20 barrels, worth 4s. a barrel on a medium, at 12 stone. The second crop of oats is as good as the first. In the gentleman's course the wheat is trenched in if the season is wet, but ploughed in if it is dry; twenty stone of seed per acre, the product ten barrels, at 20 stone, and the price 20s. Plough twice for the English barley; sow five or six bushels per acre, and get 20 barrels, 17 stone per barrel, at 8d. a stone. No lime, marle, or lime-stone gravel used, nor clover, pease, beans, or turnips sown; but enough flax is sown by every poor family for their own use; and some sell it at fairs; after scutching, at 4s. to 5s. a stone. There are many weavers about the country, who make handle cloth; and some a yard wide, for the poor people; they live both in towns and villages. All the women spin flax. They shut up their fields for hay the beginning of june, generally mow in september, the crop three to four tons an acre, sometimes five or six. It is sold standing for 40s. an acre.

TILLAGE is done with horses, four in a plough, and do half an acre a day, four or five inches deep; the price 7s. to 10s. In hiring and stocking they reckon that

that 3l. an acre will do for a grazing farm, but much less for tillage. Leases are for thirty-one years of three lives. Land sells at twenty-years purchase: there has been a fall of rents from 1772, to the American war, but since that time they have been rising. The religion all roman catholic.

MUCH of the labour is done by servants hired into the house of little farmers that keep dairies, &c. Much also by cottars, who have a cabbn and an acre and half of potatoe garden, which are valued at three guineas; they have also two cows, at 50s. a cow. Three-fourths of an acre under potatoes every year, and the rest oats and flax; they get about 120 barrels an acre, which crop, with the oats, feed them the year through; they are much more eaten than they were 20 years ago; two barrels will last a family a week as they are usually consumed. They all keep a pig, a dog, two cats, and some poultry: their circumstances are better than they were twenty years ago; their pig they sell, but they eat poultry, particularly geese. Some of them buy turf for fuel, which costs them fifteen shillings: but many depend on breaking and stealing hedge-wood; they are much given to pilfering.

Cottar's account.

Cablin and $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre	—	3	8	3	
Grass of two cows	—	5	0	0	
Turf	—	0	15	0	
Tythe	—	0	11	0	
Seed flax, four pottles	—	0	3	4	
20 bandies of cloth for the man	}	0	3	0	
20 ————— for the woman					
7 ————— for three children					
47 weaving, at $\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	—	—	
Vol. II.	E	£	10	0	7

Brought over	10	0	17
N. B. Heckled &c. by themselves			
One stone of wool for the whole family	0	17	0
Weaving ditto	—	—	0 3 4
Shoes	—	—	0 10 0
Hats	—	—	0 1 0
Hearth money	—	—	0 2 0
Duties to the priest.			
Two confessions	—	—	0 2 2
A christening	—	—	0 1 6
Sundries	—	—	0 1 4
			<u>0 5 0</u>

£. 11 8 11

His receipt.			
Days	365		
Sundays	52		
Holydays	30		
Bad weather	10		
His own garden	20		
	<u>112</u>		
	253 at 5d.	5	5 5
The eldest child, 10 or 12 years old, 2d.			
a day for 253 days	—	—	2 2 1
Other earnings of the family	—	—	1 0 0
A pig, bought at 7s. sold at 47s.	—	—	2 0 0
Poultry	—	—	0 10 0
One calf	—	—	0 15 0
Two cwt. of butter	—	—	4 0 0
			<u>15 12 6</u>
Expences	—	—	11 18 11
Remains for unspecified demands, casual-			
ties, &c.			<u>3 13 7</u>

MANY

MANY of the poor here have no cows; there are cabins on the road side that have no land; the inhabitants of them are called *spalpeens*, who are paid for their labour in cash, by the month, &c. Some of them pay no rent at all, others 10s. a year; and these are the people who hire grass land for their potatoes; it is certain that the cottars are much better off than these *spalpeens*, who can get but little milk, buying it part of the summer half year only of the dairy farmers.

TYTHES. Wheat, 8s. Bere, 7s. Barley, 7s. Oats, 4s. 6d. Potatoes, 11s. Meadow, 2s. 8d.

Prices not in the tables. Womens labour, reaping, 4d. Other work, 3d. Making hand turf, 6d. Farming man's wages, 3l. to 4l. Farming maid's ditto, 1l. 12s. Mowing, per acre, 2s. 6d. to 3s. in 1745, only 1s. 6d. Ditching, 9d. a perch. Double ones, 1s. 6d. seven feet wide at top, three and a half at bottom, and four deep, and they will earn 8d. a day at it. Hire of a car, 1s. 6d. a day. In 1745, it was 1s. Price of a car, 1l. 18s. 3d. Building a mud cabin, 3l. Stone and slate, 25l. Mason's perch of stone walls for labour, 9d. six feet high complete, 16s. Oak, 4l. a ton; twenty years ago, 2l. Lime, 10d. a barrel, burnt with culm, brought 25 miles.

MR. LLOYD has worked a very great improvement of a shaking morass, which when he began was worth only 5s. an acre. The first business was banking it from a river subject to floods, with a parallel back cut, to carry off the water that came over his bank. He then carried a central drain through it and a mile

beyond to gain a fall. Next he subdivided it into fields, from 10 to 20 acres, by ditches planted with quick. The land was over-run with much under-wood and sedge tussocks, &c. these were all grubbed, cut up, and burned; after which cattle were put in, the improvement being finished; and it has grown better and better ever since, being now worth 30s. an acre: some of it is actually let at 38s. It was a very expensive undertaking, owing to the stream above him belonging to a neighbour, who did not second his undertaking; he was obliged to make a long bank upon this account only, partly over a turf bog, which was blown up once, but made again with great difficulty; fourteen spits deep were cleared, and a foundation of rammed clay laid: this cost 1000l. it has, however, stood well since.

LIME Mr. Lloyd tried in a very satisfactory experiment; he broke up one of the rich hills near Castle Lloyd, and limed half a field; afterwards upon laying the whole down, the part limed continued of a much deeper green and more luxuriant herbage than the other half.

OCTOBER 10th, left Castle Lloyd, and took the road by Galbally to Mitchelstown, through a country part of it a rich grazing tract; but from near Galbally, to the Galty mountains, there are large spaces of flat lands, covered with heath and furze, that are exceedingly improveable, yet seem as neglected as if nothing could be made of them. The road leads immediately at the northern foot of the Galties, which form the most formidable and romantic boundary imaginable.

MITCHELSTOWN. ginable; the sides are almost perpendicular, and reach a height, which piercing the clouds, seem formed rather for the boundaries of two conflicting empires, than the property of private persons. The variety of the scenery exhibited by these mountains is great; the road, after passing some miles parallel with them, turns over a hill, a continuation of their chain, and commands an oblique view of their southern side, which has much more variety than the northern; it looks down at the same time upon a long plain, bounded by these and other mountains, several rivers winding through it, which join in the center, near Mitchelstown. I had been informed that this was a miserable place: it has at least a situation worthy of the proudest capital.

UPON my arrival, Lord Kingsborough, who possesses almost the whole country, procured me the information I requested in the most liberal manner, and a residence since has enabled me to perfect it. His Lordship's vast property extends from Kildorrery to Clogheen, beyond Ballyporeen, a line of more than 16 Irish miles, and it spreads in breadth from five to ten miles. It contains every variety of land, from the fertility of grazing large bullocks to the mountain heath the cover of grouse. The profitable land lets from 8s. to 25s. an acre, but the whole does not on an average yield more than 2s. 6d. Such a field for future improvements is therefore rarely to be found. On the cold and bleak hills of Scotland, estates of greater extent may be found, but lying within twenty miles of Corke, the most southerly part of Ireland, admits a rational prophecy that it will become one of the first properties in Europe.

THE size of farms held by occupying tenants is in general very small, Lord Kingborough having released them from the bondage of the middle men. Great tracts are held in partnership; and the amount held by single farmers rises from 5l. to 50l. a year, with a very few large farms.

THE soils are as various as in such a great extent they may be supposed: the worst is the wet morassy land, on a whitish gravel, the spontaneous growth, rushes (*Juncus conglomeratus*) and heath (*Erica vulgaris*); this yields a scanty nourishment to cows and half-starved young cattle. Large tracts of wet land have a black peat or a turf surface; this is very reclaimable, and there are immense tracts of it. The profitable soil is in general a sandy or a gravelly loam, of a reddish brown colour, and the principal distinction is its being on lime or grit stone, the former generally the best. It declines in value from having a yellow sand or a yellow clay near the surface under it. There are tracts of such incomparable land that I have seen very little equal to it, except in Tipperary, Limerick, and Roscommon. A deep friable loam, moist enough for the spontaneous growth to fat a bullock, and dry enough to be perfectly under command in tillage: if I was to name the characteristics of an excellent soil, I should say that upon which you may fat an ox, and feed off a crop of turnips. By the way I recollect little or no such land in England, yet is it not uncommon in Ireland. Quarries of the finest lime-stone are found in almost every part of the estate.

THE tracts of mountain are of prodigious extent; the Galties only are six or seven miles long, from one to four miles across; and more improveable upon the whole

whole than any land I have seen, turf and limestone being on the spot, and a gentle exposure hanging to the south. In every inaccessible cliff there are mountain ash, (*fraxinus excelsior*) oak, (*quercus robur*) holly, (*ilex aquifolium*) birch, (*betula alba*) willow, (*salix*) hazel, (*corylus avellana*) and white thorn, (*crataegus oxyacantha*) and even to a considerable height up the mountain, which, with the many old stumps scattered about them, prove that the whole was once a forest, an observation applicable to every part of the estate.

THE tillage here extends no farther than what depends on potatoes, on which root they subsist as elsewhere. They sometimes manure the grass for them, and take a second crop; after which they follow them with oats, till the soil is so exhausted as to bear no longer, when they leave it to weeds and trumpery, which vile system has spread itself so generally over all the old meadow and pasture of the estate, that it has given it a face of desolation—furze, (*ulex europæus*) broom, (*spartium scoparium*) fern, (*pteris aquilina*) and rushes owing to this and to neglect, occupy seven-eighths of it. The melancholy appearance of the lands arising from this, which, with miserable and unplanted mounds, for fences, with no gate but a furze bush stuck in a gap, or some stones piled on each other, altogether form a scene the more dreary, as an oak, an ash or an elm, are almost as great a rarity, (save in the plantations of the present Lord) as an olive, an orange, or a mulberry.

Of potatoes, eight barrels of seed plant an acre, which yields sixty barrels, at twenty-one stone; the average price 4s. 4d.

E 4

Planting,

Planting, fourteen men, at 6d.	10s 7d 7
Trenching, fourteen ditto	0 7 7
Leading the dung	1 0 0
Spreading, six men	0 3 3
Eight barrels seed	1 14 8
Weeding by the women	0 0 0
Taking up, sixty men	1 11 6
Carting home, &c.	0 15 0
	<hr/>
	£. 6 0 7

PRODUCE.

Sixty, at 4s. 4d.	13 0 0
Expences	6 0 7
	<hr/>
	£. 6 19 5

Prime cost, 2s. a barrel.

THEY lay them up in holes in the fields. The second crop is generally the best. Of oats they sow two barrels, and reap from 8 to 15. There is no wheat, and very little barley. Clover and turnips, rape, beans, and pease, quite unknown. The rents are paid by cattle, and of these dairy cows are the chief stock. The little farmers manage their own; the larger ones let them to dairymen for a cwt. of butter each cow, and 12s. to 15s. horn money; but the man has a privilege of four collops, and an acre of land and cabbin to every 20 cows. The people, most attentive to their own interest, are, however, getting out of this system, from the innumerable rascalities of these dairymen; they will play twenty tricks to keep them from taking the bull, in order to have the longer season; and to force them to give down their milk, they have a very

MITCHELLSTOWN.

very delicate custom of blowing them where ~~but~~,
but I have heard of this practice in other parts.

THE winter food is straw and hay at night; not many of them are housed. In the breeding system they are very deficient. Vast number of calves are killed at two or three days old for an execrable veal they call *flaggering bob*, I suppose from the animal not being old enough to stand steady on its legs: they sell at 2s. or 2s. 6d. a head. A good cow sells from 5l. to 6l. 6s. and a calf of six or eight months, at 20s. or 22s. Sheep are kept in very small numbers; a man will have two, or even one, and he thinks it worth his while to walk ten or twelve miles to a fair, with a straw band tied to the leg of the lamb, in order to sell it for 3s. 6d. an undoubted proof of the poverty of the country. Markets are crowded for this reason, for there is nothing too trifling to carry; a yard of linen, a fleece of wool, a couple of chickens, will carry an unemployed pair of hands ten miles. In the mountains are a small breed of sheep, which are as delicate mutton, when properly fattened, as the welch, and of so hardy a breed as to live upon heath, furze, &c. in winter as well as summer. Hogs are kept in such numbers that the little towns and villages swarm with them; pigs and children bask and roll about, and often resemble one another so much, that it is necessary to look twice before the *human face divine* is confessed. I believe there are more pigs in Mitchellstown than human beings, and yet propagation is the only trade that flourished here for ages.

TILLAGE is done by horses; four in a plough do half an acre a day, five or six inches deep; the price 6s. to 10s. an acre.

LABOUR

LABOUR is chiefly done in the cottar system, which has been so often explained; there are here every gradation of the lower classes, from the spalpeens, many among them strangers, who build themselves a wretched cabin in the road, and have neither land, cattle, nor turf, rising to the regular cottar, and from him to the little joint tenant, who, united with many others, takes some large farm in partnership; still rising to the greater farmer.

THE population is very great. It is but few districts in the north that would equal the proportion that holds on this estate; the cabins are innumerable, and like most Irish cabins, swarm with children. Wherever there are many people, and little employment, idleness and its attendants must abound.

It is not to be expected that so young a man as Lord Kingsborough, just come from the various gaiety of Italy, Paris, and London, should, in so short a space as two years, do much in a region so wild as Mitchelstown; a very short narrative, however, will convince the reader, that the time he has spent here, has not been thrown away. He found his immense property in the hands of that species of tenant which we know so little of in England, but which in Ireland have flourished almost to the destruction of the kingdom, the *middle man*, whose business and whose industry consists in hiring great tracts of land as cheap as he can, and re-letting them to others as dear as he can; by which means that beautiful gradation of the pyramid, which connects the broad base of the poor people with the great nobleman they support, is broken; he deals only with his own tenant, the multitude is abandoned to the humanity and feelings of others,

others, which to be sure may prompt a just and tender conduct; whether it does or not, let the misery and poverty of the lower classes speak, who are thus assigned over. This was the situation of nine tenths of his property. Many leases being out, he rejected the trading tenant, and let every man's land to him, who occupied it at the rent he had himself received before. During a year that I was employed in letting his farms, I never omitted any opportunity of confirming him in this system, as far as was in my power, from a conviction that he was equally serving himself and the public in it; he will never quit it without having reason afterwards for regret.

IN a country changing from licentious barbarity into civilized order, building is an object of perhaps greater consequence than may at first be apparent. In a wild, or but half cultivated tract, with no better edifice than a mud cabin, what are the objects that can impress a love of order on the mind of man? He must be wild as the roaming herds; savage as his rocky mountains; confusion, disorder, riot, have nothing better than himself to damage or destroy: but when edifices of a different solidity and character arise; when great sums are expended, and numbers employed to rear more expressive monuments of industry and order, it is impossible but new ideas must arise, even in the uncultivated mind; it must feel something, first to respect, and afterwards to love; gradually seeing that in proportion as the country becomes more decorated and valuable, licentiousness will be less profitable, and more odious. Mitchelstown, till his Lordship made it the place of his residence, was a den of vagabonds, thieves, rioters, and white boys; but
can

MITCHELSTOWN

can witness to its being now as orderly and peaceable as any other Irish town, much owing to this circumstance of building, and thereby employing such numbers of the people. Lord Kingsborough, in a short space of time, has raised considerable edifices; a large mansion for himself, beautifully situated on a bold rock, the edge of a declivity, at the bottom of which is a river, and commanding a large tract of country, with as fine a boundary of mountain as I have seen; a quadrangle of offices; a garden of five English acres, surrounded with a wall, hot houses, &c. Besides this, three good stone and slate houses upon three farms, and engaged for three others, more considerable, which are begun; others repaired, and several cabins built substantially.

So naked a country as he found his estate, called for other exertions to invoke the Dryades, it was necessary to plant, and they must be coy nymphs indeed if they are not in a few years propitious to him. He brought a skilful nurseryman from England, and formed twelve acres of nursery. It begins to shew itself; above ten thousand perch of hedges are made, planted with quick and trees; and several acres, securely inclosed on advantageous spots, and filled with young and thriving plantations. Trees were given, gratis, to the tenantry, and premiums begun for those who plant most, and preserve them best, besides fourscore pounds a year offered for a variety of improvements in agriculture the most wanted upon the estate.

MEN, who from long possession of landed property, become gradually convinced of the importance of attending to it, may at last work some improvements, without meriting any considerable portion of praise;

but

but that a young man, warm from pleasure, should do it, has a much superior claim. Lord Kingsborough has, in this respect, a great deal of merit; and for the sake both of himself and his country, I heartily wish he may steadily persevere in that line of conduct which his understanding has once told him, and must continue to tell him, is so greatly for the advantage of himself, his family and the publick.

It is not uncommon, especially in mountainous countries, to find objects that much deserve the attention of travellers intirely neglected by them. There are a few instances of this upon Lord Kingsborough's estate, in the neighbourhood of Mitchelstown; the first I shall mention, is a cave at Skeheenrinky, on the road between Cahir and that place: the opening to it is a cleft of rock in a lime stone hill, so narrow as to be difficult to get into it. I descended by a ladder of about twenty steps, and then found myself in a vault of a hundred feet long, and fifty or sixty high: a small hole, on the left, leads from this a winding course of I believe not less than half an Irish mile, exhibiting a variety that struck me much. In some places the cavity in the rock is so large, that when well lighted up by candles, (not flambeaux, Lord Kingsborough once shewed it me with them, and we found their smoak troublesome) it takes the appearance of a vaulted cathedral, supported by massy columns. The walls, cieling, floor, and pillars, are by turns composed of every fantastic form; and often of very beautiful incrustations of spar, some of which glitter so much, that it seems powdered with diamonds, and in others the cieling is formed of that sort which has so near a resemblance to a cauliflower. The spar formed into columns by the dropping of water has taken some very regular

regular forms; but others are different, folded in plaits of light drapery, which hang from their supports in a very pleasing manner. The angles of the walls seem fringed with icicles. One very long branch of the cave, which turns to the north, is in some places so narrow and low, that one crawls into it, when it suddenly breaks into large vaulted spaces, in a thousand forms. The spar in all this cave is very brilliant, and almost equal to Bristol stone. For several hundred yards in the larger branch, there is a deep water at the bottom of the declivity to the right, which the common people call the river. A part of the way is over a sort of pottar's clay, which moulds into any form, and is of a brown colour: a very different soil from any in the neighbouring country. I have seen the famous cave in the Peak, but think it inferior to this: and Lord Kingsborough, who has viewed the Grot d'Aucel in Burgundy, says that it is not to be compared with it.

BUT the commanding region of the Galties deserves more attention. Those who are fond of scenes in which nature reigns in all her wild magnificence, should visit this stupendous chain. It consists of many vast mountains, thrown together in an assemblage of the most interesting features, from boldness and height of the declivities, freedom of outline, and variety of parts; filling a space of about six miles by three or four. Galtymore is the highest point, and rises like the lord and father of the surrounding progeny. From the top you look down upon a great extent of mountain, which shelves away from him to the south, east, and west; but to the north, the ridge is almost a perpendicular declivity. On that side the famous golden vale of Limerick and Tipperary spreads

a rich

direct level to the eye, bounded by the mountains of Clare, King's and Queen's counties, with the course of the Shannon, for many miles below Limerick. To the south you look over alternate ridges of mountains, which rise one beyond another, till in a clear day the eye meets the ocean near Dungarvon. The mountains of Waterford and Knockmaldown fill up the space to the south east. The western is the most extensive view; for nothing stops the eye till Mangerton and Macgilly Cuddy's Reeks point out the spot where Killarney's lake calls for a farther excursion. The prospect extends into eight counties, Corke, Kerry, Waterford, Limerick, Clare, Queen's, Tipperary, King's.

A little to the west of this proud summit, below it in a very extraordinary hollow, is a circular lake of two acres, reported to be unfathomable. The descriptions which I have read of the craters of exhausted volcanoes, leave very little doubt of this being one; and the conical regularity of the summit of Galtymore, speaks the same language. East of this *respectable* hill, to use Sir William Hamilton's language, is a declivity of about one quarter of a mile, and there Galtybeg rises in a yet more regular cone, and between the two hills is another lake, which from position seems to have been once the crater which threw up Galtybeg, as the first mentioned was the origin of Galtymore. Beyond the former hill is a third lake, and east of that another hill; I was told of a fourth, with another corresponding mountain. It is only the more summit of these mountains which rise above the lakes. Speaking of them *below*, they may be said to be on the tops of the hills; they are all of them at the bottom of an almost regularly circular hollow. On the side, next the mountain top, are walls

walls of perpendicular rocks, in regular strata, and some of them piled on each other, with an appearance of art rather than nature. In these rocks the eagles, which are seen in numbers on the Galties, have their nests. Supposing the mountains to be of volcanic origin, and these lakes the craters, of which I have not a doubt; they are objects of the greatest curiosity, for there is an unusual regularity in every considerable summit having its corresponding crater; but without this circumstance the scenery is interesting in a very great degree. The mountain summits, which are often wrapped in the clouds, at other times exhibit the freest outline; the immense scoop'd hollows which sink at your feet, declivities of so vast a depth as to give one terror to look down; with the unusual forms of the lower region of hills, particularly Bull-hill and Round-hill, each a mile over, yet rising out of circular vales, with the regularity of semi-globes, unite upon the whole, to exhibit a scenery to the eye, in which the parts are of a magnitude so commanding; a character so interesting, and a variety so striking, that they well deserve to be examined by every curious traveller.

NOR are these immense outlines the whole of what is to be seen in this great range of mountains. Every Glen has its beauties; there is a considerable mountain river, or rather torrent, in every one of them; but the greatest are the Funcheon, between Sefang and Galtymore. The Lime-stone river, between Galtymore and Round-hill, and the Grouse river, between Coolegarranroe, and Mr. O'Callaghan's mountain; these present to the eye, for a tract of about three miles, every variety that rock, water, and mountain can give, thrown into all the fantastic forms which

art may attempt in ornamented grounds, but always fails in. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the water, when not discoloured by rain, its lucid transparency shews, at considerable depths, every pebble no bigger than a pin, every rocky basin alive with trout and eels, that play and dash among the rocks, as if endowed with that native vigor which animate, in a superior degree, every inhabitant of the mountains, from the bounding red deer, and the soaring eagle, down even to the fishes of the brook. Every five minutes you have a water-fall in these glens, which in any other region, would stop every traveller to admire it. Sometimes the vale takes a gentler declivity, and presents to the eye, at one stroke, twenty or thirty falls, which render the scenery all alive with the motion; the rocks are tossed about in the wildest confusion, and the torrent bursts by turns from above, beneath, and under them; while the back ground is always filled up with the mountains which stretch around.

In the western glen is the finest cascade in all the Galties; there are two falls, with a basin in the rock between, but from some points of view they appear one; the rock over which the water tumbles is about sixty-feet high. A good line in which to view these objects is either to take the Killarney and Mallow road, to Mitchelstown, and from thence by Lord Kingsborough's new one, to Skeheenrinky, there to take one of the glens, to Galty-beg, and Galty-more, and return to Mitchelstown by the Wolf's track, Temple-hill, and the Waterfall: or, if the Cork road is travelling, to make Dobbin's inn, at Ballyporeen, the head quarters, and view them from thence.

1778.

HAVING heard much of the beauties of a part of the Queen's county, I had not before seen, I took that line of country in my way on a journey to Dublin.

FROM Mitchelstown to Cashel, the road leads as far as Galbally in the route already travelled from Cullen; towards Cashel the country is various. The only object deserving attention, are the plantations of Thomastown, the seat of Francis Mathew, Esq; they consist chiefly of hedge-row trees in double and treble rows, are well grown, and of such extent as to form an uncommon woodland scene in Ireland. Found the widow Holland's inn, at Cashel, clean and very civil. Take the road to Urlingford. The rich sheep pastures, part of the famous golden vale, reach between three and four miles, from Cashel to the great bog by Botany Hill, noted for producing a greater variety of plants than common. That bog is separated by only small tracts of land, from the string of bogs which extend through the Queen's County, from the great bog of Allen; it is here of considerable extent, and exceedingly improvable. Then enter a low marshy bad country, which grows worse after passing the 66th mile stone, and successive bogs in it. Breakfast at Johnstown, a regular village on a slight eminence, built by Mr. Hayley; it is near the Spaw of Ballyspellin. Rows of trees are planted; but their heads all cut off, I suppose from their not thriving, being planted too old. Immediately on leaving these planted avenues, enter a row of eight or ten new cabins, at a distance from each other, which appear to be

be a new undertaking, the land about them all pared and burnt, and the ashes in heaps.

ENTER a fine planted country, with much corn and good thriving quick hedges for many miles. The road leads through a large wood, which joins Lord Ashbrook's plantations, whose house is situated in the midst of more wood than almost any one I have seen in Ireland. Pass Durrow; the country for two or three miles continues all inclosed with fine quick hedges, is beautiful, and has some resemblance to the best parts of Essex. Sir Robert Staple's improvements join this fine tract; they are completed in a most perfect manner, the hedges well-grown; cut, and in such excellent order, that I can scarcely believe myself to be in Ireland. His gates are all of iron. These sylvan scenes continue through other seats beautifully situated, amidst gentle declivities of the finest verdure, full grown woods, excellent hedges, and a pretty river winding by the house. The whole environs of several would be admired in the best parts of England.

CROSS a great bog, within sight of Lord De Vescey's plantations. The road leads over it, being drained for that purpose by deep cuts on either side. I should apprehend this bog to be among the most improveable in the country.

SLEPT at Ballyroan, at an inn kept by three animals, who call themselves women; met with more impertinence than at any other in Ireland. It is an execrable hole. In three or four miles pass Sir John Parnel's, prettily situated in a neatly dressed lawn, with much wood about it, and a lake quite alive with wild fowl.

Pass Monstereven, and cross directly a large bog, drained and partly improved; but all of it bearing grass, and seems in a state that might easily be reduced to rich meadow, with only a dressing of lime. Here I got again into the road I had travelled before.

I must in general remark, that from near Urlingford to Dawson Court, near Monstereven, which is completely across the Queen's County, is a line of, above thirty English miles, and is for that extent by much the best improved of any I have seen in Ireland. It is generally well planted, has many woods, and not consisting of patches of plantation just by gentlemen's houses, but spreading over the whole face of the country, so as to give it the richness of an English woodland scene. What a country would Ireland be, had the inhabitants of the rest improved it like this!

PART II.

Observations on the preceding Intelligence.

TO register the minutes received upon such a journey as this, and leave them simply to speak for themselves, would have its use ; but it would leave to the inquisitive reader so much labour and trouble in collecting general facts, that not one in five hundred would attempt it. That it is a matter of importance to have accurate ideas of a country, instead of erroneous ones, will hardly be disputed ; no books of geography but speak generally of soil, climate, product, rental, population, but they are too often mere guesses ; or, if founded at all, the facts that support them of too old a date to yield the least truth at present in points subject to change. When one country is mentioned in another it is usually in general terms, and by comparison ; *England has not so rich a soil as Ireland. Products in England larger than in France. Rents higher in Ireland than in Scotland.* A thousand instances might be produced, in which ideas of this sort are particularized, and in which general errors are often found the cause of political measures, even of the highest consequence. That my English tours give *exact* information relative to England I cannot assert ; but I may venture to say, that they are the only information extant, relative to the

the rental, produce, stock, &c. of that country, which are taken from an actual examination; I wish to offer equal information relative to our sister island; and I am encouraged to do it, not only from my own ideas, but the opinions of many persons, with whom I have either corresponded or conversed from most parts of Europe, including some of the most respectable for abilities and rank.

S E C T I O N I.

Extent of Ireland.

IN order to know the consequence and relative importance of any country, it is necessary to be acquainted with its extent; I have reason to believe that that of Ireland is not accurately known. I insert the following table of the acres of each county, plantation measure, because there are several observations to be made on it.

<i>Acres.</i>		
Ulster—	Antrim, — —	383,020
	Armagh, — —	170,620
	Cavan, — —	274,800
	Down, — —	344,658
	Donnegal, — —	630,157
	Fermanagh, — —	224,807
	Londonderry, — —	251,510
	Monaghan, — —	170,090
	Tyrone, — —	387,175
Total, — —		<u>2,836,837</u>

Leinster,

		<i>Acres</i>
Leinster,	Carlow, —	116,900
	Dublin, —	123,784
	Kildare, —	228,590
	Kilkenny, —	287,650
	King's County, —	257,510
	Longford, —	134,700
	Louth, —	111,180
	Meath, —	326,480
	Queen's County, —	238,415
	Westmeath, —	249,943
	Wexford, —	315,396
	Wicklow, —	252,410
Total, —		<u>2,642,958</u>
Munster,	Clare, —	418,187
	Corke, —	991,010
	Kerry, —	636,905
	Limerick, —	375,320
	Tipperary, —	599,560
	Waterford, —	259,010
Total, —		<u>3,289,932</u>
Conaught,	Galway, —	775,525
	Leitrim, —	206,830
	Mayo, —	724,640
	Roscommon, —	324,370
	Sligo, —	241,550
Total, —		<u>2,272,915</u>
In all Ireland, —		<u>11,042,642</u>

10. **Grænan Malines** makes the acres of Ireland eighteen millions (*Ulex Mercatoria*, part 1. p. 19.) I suppose English measure, which is eleven millions Irish; these two accounts flow therefore from the same source. 7. **Otempleman's** measurement gives it 27,457 square miles, or 17,572,480 acres (*Survey of the globe*). English on a scale of 60 miles to a degree, but consequently it is professedly erroneous, as a degree is 69½; according to this measure therefore, the contents in real acres would be 20,354,789 English, and 12,721,743 Irish. These accounts come so nearly together, that they are all drawn from similar data; that is, from old maps. Newer ones have many blunders; but as no late actual survey has been made of the kingdom, we must depend on the authority we find.

Dr. Grew calculated what the real contents of England and Wales were, not at the rate of the geographic mile, but real statute square one, containing 640 acres, and makes it 46,080,000 acres. (*Phil. Trans.* No. 330. p. 266.) Instead of the geographic contents of 31,648,000. Ireland measured in the same manner, contains about 25,000,000 of English acres, or 15,500,000 Irish.

SECTION II.

Soil, Face of the Country and Climate.

TO judge of Ireland by the conversation one sometimes hears in England, it would be supposed that one half of it was covered with bogs, and the other with moun-

mountains, filled with Irish ready to fly at the sight of a civilized being. There are people who will smile when they hear that in proportion, to the size of the two countries, Ireland is more cultivated than England, having much less waste land of all sorts. Of uncultivated mountains there are no such tracts as are found in our four northern counties, and the North Riding of Yorkshire, with the eastern line of Lancashire, nearly down to the Peak of Derby, which form an extent of above an hundred miles of waste. The most considerable of this sort in Ireland are in Kerry, Galway, and Mayo, and some in Sligo and Donnegal. But all these together will not make the quantity we have in the four northern counties; the vallies in the Irish mountains are also more inhabited I think, than those of England, except where there are mines, and consequently some sort of cultivation creeping up the sides. Natural fertility, acre for acre over the two kingdoms is certainly in favour of Ireland; of this I believe there can scarcely be a doubt entertained, when it is considered that some of the more beautiful, and even best cultivated countries in England, owe almost to every thing to the capital art and industry of the inhabitants.

THE circumstance which strikes me as the greatest singularity of Ireland, is the rockyness of the soil, which should seem at first sight against that degree of fertility; but the contrary is the fact. Stone is so general, that I have great reason to believe the whole island is one vast rock of different strata and kinds rising out of the sea. I have rarely heard of any great depths being sunk without meeting with it. In general it appears on the surface in every part of the kingdom,

dom, the flattest and most fertile parts, as Limerick, Tipperary and Meath, have it at no great depth, almost as much as the more barren ones. May we not recognize in this the hand of bounteous providence, which has given, perhaps, the most stoney soil in Europe to the moistest climate in it? If as much rain fell upon the clays of England (a soil very rarely met with in Ireland, and never without much stone) as falls upon the rocks of her sister island, those lands could not be cultivated. But the rocks here are cloathed with verdure;—those of lime-stone with only a thin covering of mould, have the softest and most beautiful turf imaginable.

THE rockyness of the soil in Ireland is so universal, that it predominates in every sort. One cannot use with propriety, the terms clay, loam, sand, &c. it must be a *stoney* clay, a *stoney* loam, a *gravelly* sand. Clay, especially the yellow, is much talked of in Ireland, but it is for want of proper discrimination. I have once or twice seen almost a pure clay upon the surface, but it is extremely rare. The true yellow clay is usually found in a thin stratum under the surface mould, and over a rock; harsh, tenacious, stoney, strong loams, difficult to work, are not uncommon; but they are quite different from English clays.

FRIABLE sandy loams, dry, but fertile, are very common, and they form the best soils in the kingdom for tillage and sheep. Tipperary and Roscommon abound particularly in them. The most fertile of all, are the bullock pastures of Limerick, and the banks of the Shannon in Clare, called the *Corcasses*. These are a mellow, putrid, friable loam.

SAND, which is so common in England, and yet more common through Spain, France, Germany, and Poland, quite from Gibraltar to Petersburg, is no where met with in Ireland, except in narrow slips of hillocks, upon the sea coast. Nor did I ever meet with, or hear of a chalky soil.

THE bogs, of which foreigners have heard so much, are very extensive in Ireland; that of Allen extends 80 miles, and is computed to contain 300,000 acres. There are others also, very extensive, and smaller ones scattered over the whole kingdom, but these are not in general more than are wanted for fuel. When I come to speak of the improvement of waste lands, I shall describe them particularly.

BESIDES the great fertility of the soil, there are other circumstances, which come within my sphere to mention. Few countries can be better watered by large and beautiful rivers; and it is remarkable, that by much the finest parts of the kingdom, are on the banks of these rivers. Witness the Sure, Blackwater, the Liffy, the Boyne, the Nore, the Barrow, and part of the Shannon, they wash a scenery that can hardly be exceeded. From the rockyness of the country, however, there are few of them that have not obstructions, which are great impediments to inland navigation.

THE mountains of Ireland give to travelling, that interesting variety, which a flat country can never abound with. And at the same time, they are not in such number as to confer the usual character of poverty, which attends them. I was either upon or very near

near the most considerable in the kingdom. Mangerton and the Reeks, in Kerry; the Galties in Corke; those of Mourne in Down; Crow Patrick and Nephin, in Mayo, these are the principal in Ireland, and they are of a character in height and sublimity, which should render them the objects of every traveller's attention.

RELATIVE to the climate of Ireland, a short residence cannot enable a man to speak much from his own experience; the observations I have made myself, confirm the idea of its being vastly wetter than England; from the 20th of June, to the 20th of October, I kept a register, and there were in 122 days, 75 of rain, and very many of them incessant and heavy. I have examined similar registers I kept in England, and can find no year that even approaches to such a moisture as this. But there is the register of an accurate diary published, which compares London and Corke. The result is, that the quantity at the latter place, was double to that at London. See *Smith's, Hist. of Corke*.

FROM the information received, I have reason to believe, that the rainy season sets in usually about the first of July, and continues very wet till September or October, when there is usually a dry fine season of a month or six weeks. I resided in the county of Corke, &c. from October till March, and found the winter much more soft and mild, than ever I experienced one in England. I think hardly so wet, as very many I have known with us. The tops of the Galty mountains, exhibited the only snow we saw; and as to frosts, they were so slight and rare, that I believe myrtles, and yet tenderer plants, would have survived without any covering

covering. But when I say that the winter was not remarkable for being wet, I do not mean that we had a dry atmosphere. The inches of rain which fell in the winter I speak of, would not mark the moisture of the climate. As many inches will fall in a single tropical shower, as in a whole year in England. See *Mitchel's Present State of Great Britain, and North America*. But if the clouds presently disperse, and a bright sun shines, the air may soon be dry. The worst circumstance of the climate of Ireland, is the constant moisture without rain. Wet a piece of leather, and lay it in a room, where there is neither sun nor fire, and it will not in summer even, be dry in a month. I was a whole summer there (1778) and it is fair to mention that it was as fine a one as ever I knew in England, though by no means so hot. I have known gentlemen in Ireland deny their climate being moisture than England;—but if they have eyes let them open them, and see the verdure that cloaths their rocks, and compare it with ours in England—where rocky soils are of a russet brown however sweet the food for sheep. Does not their island lye more exposed to the great Atlantic, and does not the west wind blow three fourths of the year? If there was another island yet more to the westward, would not the climate of Ireland be improved? Such persons speak equally against fact, reason, and philosophy. That the moisture of a climate

I have had this happen myself with a pair of wet gloves.

The myriads of flies also which buz about ones ears, and are ready to go in shoa's into ones mouth at every word—and those almost imperceptible flies called *midges*, which perfectly devour one in a wood, or near a river, prove the same thing.

does

does not depend on the quantity of rain that falls, but on the powers of aerial evaporation; Dr. Dobson has clearly proved. *Philos. Trans.* Vol. lxxvii. part i.

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SECTION III.

Rental.

NO country can ever be held in a just estimation when the rental of it is unknown. It is not the only circumstance which a political arithmetician should attend to, but it is a most important one. The value of a country is rarely the subject of conversation without guesses at its rental being made, and comparisons between different ones. I contend for nothing more through this and the ensuing tables, than the superiority of actual information on the spot, drawn into one point of view, over any guesses whatever. I shall therefore proceed at once to lay it before the reader.

Places.

Places.	R	E	N	T	A	L.	Leases, years or lives.
	Rent per Acre.	Rent at trib. acre.	Rise. s. d.	Fall. s. d.	Year's pur- chase land.		
County of Dublin							
Celbridge	1 10 0					22	41 61 L.
Doffstown	1 1 0			5 0		22	31 or L.
Summerhill	1 1 0					23½	
Slaine Castle	1 5 0					22½	
Headfort	1 0 0					21	31 or L.
Drustown	1 6 0						
Fore	0 15 0						
Packenham Hall	0 17 6			4 4		21	
Mullengar to Tullspace	1 0 0						
Charleville	0 16 0			4 0		20	
Shaan Castle	0 13 0			5 0		20	
Athy to Carlow	0 18 0						
Kilfaine	0 15 6			2 0		21	21 31
Rofs to Taghmon	0 15 0						
Bargie and Forth	1 2 9					23½	
Wexford to Wells	0 11 0						
Wells to Gowry	0 17 0					22½	31 L.
Cottown	0 17 6			none		19½	31 L.
New Town M. Kennedy	2 0 0			a little none			

8784 1894

Places.

Near Giants Causeway
Colrain
Newtown Limm
Clonleigh county
Mount Charles
Cattle Caldwell
Inniskilling
Ditto
Florence Court
Farnham
Granard
Longford
Stroketown
Elphin
Kingston
Mercra
Tyreva
Ditto
Tyngley
Foxford to Cattlebar
Cattlebar

R E

Rent per
acre.

0 12 0
0 10 0
0 10 0
0 10 0
0 17 0
0 10 0
0 17 0
0 11 0
0 15 0
0 10 0
0 17 0
1 1 0
0 13 0
1 13 0
1 5 0
1 13 0
1 13 0
1 17 0
1 15 0
1 14 0
1 18 0
1 12 0
1 12 0
1 17 0

N

Rent at
Irish acres

15 0
13 0
21 6

T

Rise.
s. d.

1 6
2 0
5 6
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0
2 0

A L.

Fall.
s. d.

0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0
0 0

Year's pur-
chase land.

25
21 1/2
22

22

18 1/2

20

Leases, years
or lives.

L.

C

Westport

Places.	R	E	N	T	A	L.	Leases, years or lives.
	Rent per acre.	Rent at Irish acre s. d.		Fall. s. d.	Year's purchase land.		
Westport	0 8	0		1 0	21½	21	31 L.
Holymount	0 13	6				21	
Moniva.	0 14	0				20	
Wood Lawn	0 16	0				20	
Drumoland Corcaffes	1 0	0				20	
Limerick	0 15	0		8 0		31	L.
Angrove	1 10	0		2 6			
Orrery	0 13	0					
Fermoy	0 7	0					
Duhallow	0 15	0					
Condons and Clangibbons	0 7	0					
Barrymore	0 4	0	11				
Barrets	0 4	0	6 0				
Mushery	0 4	0	6				
Kinlela	0 14	0	22				
Kerrycurry	0 10	0	16				
Courcy's	0 10	0	16				
Mallow	0 12	0	19				
Castle Martyr	0 12	0	19				
Imokilly	0 8	0	12				
Kilnaltan						25	

Places.

	R	E	N	T	A	L.
	Rent per acre.	Rent at Irish acre. s. d.	Fall. s. d.	Year's pur- chase land.	Leases, years or lives	
Coolmore	14	22 0				
Killarney	8					
Castle Island to Tralee	7			17		
Mahagrec	14					
Tarbat	14					
Adair	0					
Castle Oliver	12		3 0			
100,000 acres in Limerick	10					
20 miles sheepland Tipperary	2		4 6	20		
Ballycanvan	15			19½		
Furness	0					
Gloster	15		3 0	2 5	31	L.
Johnstown	0			20	31	L.
Derry	15			20		
Cullen	10			20	31	L.
Mitchels Town	0			20	21	
Average	2	16 6		21		
Average per English acre		10 3				

THE first column of rent is either plantation measure, Cunningham, or English; and the second reduces the two last to plantation.

THE Cunningham acre is reduced to the plantation measure as seven to nine, and the English as five to eight, which though not perfectly accurate is near it.

THE following table contains the information I received relative to the general average rental of whole counties; and as there are several with more than one account, the medium of those different accounts is given in a separate column.

Counties.	Different minutes.			Average.			Reduced to plantation.			Total rental of the County.
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	
Dublin				1	11	6	1	11	6	194,959
Meath	1	0	0							
Ditto	1	5	0							
Ditto	0	18	6							
	<hr/>			1	1	2	1	1	2	345,524
Westmeath				0	7	0	0	7	0	87,480
King's County	0	13	0							
Ditto	0	12	6							
	<hr/>			0	12	9	0	12	9	164,161
Carlow				0	15	0	0	15	0	87,675
Wexford				0	15	0	0	15	0	236,547
Wicklow				0	15	0	0	15	0	189,307
Louth,				1	1	0	1	1	0	116,739
Ardmagh	0	8	0							
Ditto	0	14	0							
	<hr/>			0	11	0	0	14	0	119,434
Down	0	10	0							
Ditto	0	10	0							
Ditto	0	10	0							
	<hr/>			0	10	0	0	12	10	221,154
Antrim	0	5	6							
Ditto	0	4	9							
	<hr/>			0	5	1½	0	6	6	124,481
Derry	0	4	6							
Ditto	0	4	0							
	<hr/>			0	4	3	0	5	6	69,164
Donnegal	0	1	0							

Donnegal

R E N T A L.

85

Counties.	Different minutes.	Average.	Reduced to plantation.	Total rental of the County.
	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l.
Donnegal	0 1 0			
Ditto	0 2 6			
Fermanagh		0 1 6	0 1 6	47,260
Cavan	0 6 0	0 8 5	0 8 5	94,603
Ditto	0 7 6			
Longford		0 6 9	0 6 9	92,745
Leitrim	0 4 0	0 10 0	0 10 0	67,350
Ditto	0 2 0			
Ditto	0 1 4			
Roscommon	0 11 0	0 2 5	0 2 5	24,990
Ditto	0 10 0			
Sligo	0 12 6	0 10 6	0 10 6	170,294
Ditto	0 12 10			
Ditto	0 10 10			
Mayo		0 12 0	0 12 0	144,930
Galway		0 8 0	0 8 0	289,856
Clare		0 8 1	0 8 1	313,440
Corke	0 7 0	0 5 0	0 5 0	107,046
Ditto	0 3 1			
Ditto	0 5 8			
Ditto	0 5 4			
Ditto	0 5 0			
Kerry	0 2 0	0 5 2	0 5 2	256,010
Ditto	0 2 11			
Ditto	0 1 7			
Ditto	0 4 10			
Limerick	1 0 0	0 2 10	0 2 10	90,226
Ditto	1 0 0			
Ditto	0 10 6	0 16 10	0 16 10	315,893

G 3

Tippe-

Counties. Different minutes. Average. Reduced to plantation. Total rental of the County.

	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l.
Tipperary	0 16 3			
Ditto	0 17 4			
Ditto	1 0 0			
Ditto	0 12 6			
	-----	0 16 6	0 16 6	494,587
Waterford	0 5 0			
Ditto	0 6 10			
	-----	0 5 11	0 5 11	76,622
Kildare		0 14 6	0 14 6	105,727
Tyrone	0 4 0			
Ditto	0 7 0			
	-----	0 5 6	0 5 6	106,472

SINCE the journey I have procured the information for the following;

Kilkenny	0 16 0	0 16 0	230,119
Monnaghan	0 11 0	0 11 0	93,549
Queen's	0 13 0	0 13 0	154,968
	-----	-----	-----
Total,	—	—	5,293,312

11,042,642 plantation acres, (the quantity commonly supposed) giving the rent of 5,293,312l. is at the rate of 9s. 7d. *per* acre. The average of all the minutes made it 16s. 6d. from hence there is reason to imagine, that the line travelled was better than the medium of the kingdom; or on the contrary, that the suppositions of the rents *per* county are *under* the truth; the real rent of the kingdom, if it could be ascertained, would probably be found rather to exceed than fall short of six millions: especially as the rents upon which these particulars are drawn, were not those paid by the occupying tenant, but a general average of all tenures; whereas the object one would ascertain is the sum paid by the occupier, including consequently, not

not only the landlords rents, but the profit of the middle men.

BUT as Ireland measured in Dr. Grew's manner, by the square acre, instead of the geographic mile, contains 15,500,000 plantation acres. The true rent is thus discovered: if 11,000,000 of acres give 5,293,312 l. rent, what rent will 15,500,000 acres give? *Answer*, 7,420,000 l.

THE difference of money and measure included, 35s. Irish makes just 20s. English. Suppose therefore the rental of Ireland 9s. 7d. per acre, it makes 5s. 6d. English.

It is a curious disquisition to compare the rent of land in different countries, and to mark the various circumstances to which the superiority may be attributed. The rental of England has been pretty accurately ascertained to be 13s. an acre *. This the rent of what is occupied by farmers or landlords; allowing an eighth for large rivers, lakes, royal forests, or common pastures, (mountains, bogs, marshes, moors, not to be excluded, as they are parts of the lands let from which the calculation was made) the average value of England will be 11s. 4d. per acre. Poor rates in the same 1s. 10½d. in the pound, or 1s. 2½d. per acre. † The information I received in Ireland concerning

* EASTERN Tour through England, Vol. iv. p. 229.

† THE average of the Eastern and Northern Tours, which make a total of 1,926,666 l. By the returns laid before parliament it appeared to be actually 1,720,316 l. 14s. 7d. but that return was incomplete, for there are very many parishes named, from which, through neglect, no returns were made. I may re-

cerning the amount of the money raised for presentments throughout the kingdom, made the total 140,000*l.* or 3*d.* an acre.

		l.	s.	d.
Landlords rent of Ireland,	—	0	9	7
Roads	—	0	0	3
		<hr/>		
		0	9	10
Rent of England,	—	0	11	4
Rates,	—	0	1	2½
		<hr/>		
		0	12	6½
		<hr/>		
Irish acre and money	—	0	9	10
Which for an English acre and English money is	—	0	5	7

Instead of which is 12*s.* 6½*d.* consequently the proportion between the rent of land in England and Ireland is nearly as five to eleven: in other words, that space of land which in Ireland lets for 5*s.* would in England produce 11*s.*

In this comparison the value of land in England appears to be so much greater than it is in Ireland, that several circumstances should be considered. The idea I found common in Ireland upon that matter was, that rents there were *higher* than in England; but the extreme absurdity of the notion arose from the difference of measure and money, the exact par being, as 20 to

mark that this fact is a strong confirmation of the data upon which I formed these calculations, the above sum coming vastly nearer to the truth afterwards ascertained by parliament, than any other calculation or conjecture which ever found its way into print.

THE roads of England are a very heavy article; I conjecture much heavier than in Ireland, but I have no data whereby to ascertain the amount.

35. As far as I can form a general idea of the soil of the two kingdoms, Ireland has much the advantage; and if I am accurate in this, surely a stronger argument cannot be used, to shew the immense importance of CAPITAL first in the hands of the landlords of a country, and then in that of the farmers. I have reason to believe that five pounds sterling per English acre, expended over all Ireland, which amounts to 125,000,000*l.* would not more than build, fence, plant, drain, and improve that country, to be upon a par in those respects with England. And farther, that if those 88 millions were so expended, it would take 25 millions more (or 20*s.* an acre) in the hands of the farmers in stock of husbandry, to put them on an equal footing with those of her sister kingdom; nor is this calculation so vague as might at first sight appear, since the expences of improvements and stock are very easily estimated in both countries. This is the solution of that surprising inferiority in the rent of Ireland: the English farmer pays a rent for his land in the state he finds it, which includes, not only the natural fertility of the soil, but the immense expenditure which national wealth has in the progress of time poured into it; but the Irishman finds nothing he can afford to pay a rent for, but what the bounty of God has given, unaided by either wealth or industry. The second point is of equal consequence—when the land is to be let, the rent it will bring must depend on the capability of the cultivators to make it productive, if they have but half the capital they ought to be possessed of, how is it possible they should be able to offer a rent proportioned to the rates of another country, in which a variety of causes have long directed a stream of abundant wealth into the purses of her farmers?

THESE

THESE facts call for one very obvious reflection, which will often recur in the progress of these papers: the consequences of it are felt in Ireland; but I am sorry to say, very ill understood in England: that portion of national wealth which is employed in the improvement of the lands of a state is the best employed for the general welfare of a country; while trade and manufactures, national funds, banking, &c. swallow up prodigious sums in England, but yield a profit of not above 5 to 10 per cent; the lands of Ireland are unimproved, upon which money would pay 15 to 20 per cent. exclusive of a variety of advantages which must strike the most superficial reader.—Hence the vast importance to *England* of the improvement of her Irish territory. It is an old observation, that the wealth of Ireland will always center in England; and the fact is true, though not in the way commonly asserted: No employment of 100 millions, not upon the actual soil of Britain, can ever pay her a tenth of the advantage which would result from Ireland being in the above respects upon that par which I have described with England. The more attentively this matter is considered, I am apt to think the more clearly this will appear; and that whenever old illiberal jealousies are worn out, which, thanks to the good sense of the age, are daily disappearing, we shall be fully convinced, that the benefit of Ireland is so intimately connected with the good of England, that we shall be as forward to give to that hitherto unhappy country, as she can be to receive, from the firm conviction, that whatever we thus sow will yield to us a most abundant harvest.

PRODUCTS.

891

SECTION IV.

Products.

THE products per acre were, in every place, an object of my enquiries. The following table will at one view shew what they are upon an average of the kingdom.

Wheat, barrels per Irish acre	—	—	—	7½
Barley ditto	—	—	—	11½
Oats ditto	—	—	—	11½
Bere ditto	—	—	—	14

THESE quantities per English acre are :

	Qrs.	Bush.	Pecks.
Wheat	2	2	3
Barley	3	4	3
Oats	3	4	3
Bere	4	3	0

THE averages of the Farmer's Tour through the East of England were :

	Qrs.	Bush.	Pecks.
Wheat	3	0	0
Barley	4	0	0
Oats	4	6	0

Of the Sixth Months Tour through the North of England, were :

	Qrs.	Bush.	Pecks.
Wheat	3	0	0
Barley	4	0	0
Oats	4	0	0

THE

THE products upon the whole are much inferior to those of England, though not more so than I should have expected; not from inferiority of soil, but the extreme inferiority of management. They are not to be considered as points whereon to found a full comparison of the two countries; since a small crop of wheat in England, gained after beans, clover, &c. would be of much more importance than a larger one in Ireland by a fallow; And this remark extends to other crops.

TILLAGE in Ireland is very little understood. In the greatest corn counties, such as Louth, Kildare, Carlow and Kilkenny, where are to be seen many very fine crops of wheat, all is under the old system, exploded by good farmers in England, of sowing wheat upon a fallow, and succeeding it with as many crops of spring corn as the soil will bear. Where they do best by their land, it is only two of barley or oats before the fallow returns again, which is something worse than the open field management in England, of 1. fallow; 2. wheat; 3. oats; to which, while the fields are open and common, the farmers are by cruel necessity tied down. The bounty on the inland carriage of corn to Dublin has increased tillage very considerably, but it has no where introduced any other system. And to this extreme bad management of adopting the exploded practice of a century ago, instead of turnips and clover, it is owing, that Ireland, with a soil, acre for acre, much better than England, has its products inferior.

BUT keeping cattle of every sort, is a business so much more adapted to the laziness of the farmer, that it is no wonder the tillage is so bad. It is every where
where

where left to the cottars, or to the very poorest of the farmers, who are all utterly unable to make those exertions, upon which alone a vigorous culture of the earth can be founded; and were it not for potatoes, which necessarily prepare for corn, there would not be half of what we see at present. While it is in such hands, no wonder tillage is reckoned so unprofitable; profit in all undertakings depends on capital, and is it any wonder that the profit should be small when the capital is nothing at all? Every man that has one gets into cattle, which will give him an idle, lazy, superintendence, instead of an active attentive one.

THAT the *system* of tillage has improved very little, much as it has been extended in the last fourteen years, there is great reason to believe, from the very small increase in the import of clover seed, which would have doubled and trebled, had tillage got into the train it ought.

Import of Clover seed.

Cwt.

Average of seven years, from 1764, to 1770, 3349

Average of seven years *, from 1771, to 1777, 3927

SECTION V.

Of the Tenantry of Ireland.

IT has been probably owing to the small value of land in Ireland before, and even through a considerable part of the present century, that landlords be-

* Taken from the record of imports and exports kept by order of the House of Commons. MS.

came

came so careless of the interests of posterity, as readily to grant their tenants leases for ever. It might also be partly owing to the unfortunate civil wars, and other intestine divisions, which for so long a space of time kept that unhappy country in a state rather of devastation than improvement. When a castle, or a fortified house, and a family strong enough for a garrison were essentially necessary to the security of life and property among protestants, no man could occupy land, unless he had substance for defence as well as cultivation; short, or even determinable tenures were not encouragement enough for settling in such a situation of warfare. To increase the force of an estate leases for ever were given of lands, which from their waste state were deemed of little value. The practice once become common, continued long after the motives which originally gave rise to it, and has not yet ceased entirely in any part of the kingdom. Hence, therefore, tenants holding large tracts of land under a lease for ever, and which have been relet to a variety of under-tenants, must in this enquiry be considered as landlords.

THE obvious distinction to be applied is, that of the occupying and unoccupying tenantry: in other words, the real farmer, and the middle man. The very idea, as well as the practice, of permitting a tenant to relet at a profit rent, seems confined to the distant and unimproved parts of every empire. In the highly cultivated counties of England, the practice has no existence, but there are traces of it in the extremities; in Scotland it has been very common; and I am informed that the same observation is partly applicable to France. In proportion as any country becomes improved, the practice necessarily wears out.

It

It is in Ireland a question greatly agitated, whether the system has, or has not advantages, which may yet induce a landlord to continue in it. The friends to this mode of letting lands contend, that the extreme poverty of the lower classes, renders them such an insecure tenantry, that no gentleman of fortune can depend on the least punctuality in the payment of rent from such people; and therefore to let a large farm to some intermediate person of substance, at a lower rent, in order that the profit may be his inducement and reward for becoming a collector from the immediate occupiers, and answerable for their punctuality, becomes necessary to any person who will not submit to the drudgery of such a minute attention. Also, that such a man will at least improve a spot around his own residence, whereas the mere cottar can do nothing. If the intermediate tenant is, or from the accumulation of several farms becomes, a man of property, the same argument is applicable to his reletting to another intermediate man, giving up a part of his profit to escape that trouble, which induced the landlord to begin this system, and at the same time accounts for the number of tenants, one under another, who have all a profit out of the rent of the occupying farmer. In the variety of conversations on this point, of which I have partook in Ireland, I never heard any other arguments that had the least foundation in the actual state of the country; for as to ingenious theories, which relate more to what might be, than to what is, little regard should be paid to them.

THAT a man of substance, whose rent is not only secure, but regularly paid, is in many respects a more eligible

eligible tenant than a poor cottar, or little farmer, cannot be disputed, if the landlord looks no farther than those circumstances, the question is at an end, for the argument must be allowed to have its full weight even to victory. But there are many other considerations: I was particularly attentive to every class of tenants throughout the kingdom, and shall therefore describe these middle men, from whence their merit may be the more easily decided. Sometimes they are resident on a part of the land, but very often they are not. Dublin, Bath, London, and the country towns of Ireland, contain great numbers of them: the merit of this class is surely ascertained in a moment; there cannot be a shadow of pretence for the intervention of a man, whose single concern with an estate is to deduct a portion from the rent of it. They are however sometimes resident on a part of the land they hire, where it is natural to suppose they would work some improvements; it is however very rarely the case. I have in different parts of the kingdom seen farms just fallen in, after leases of three lives, of the duration of fifty, sixty, and even seventy years, in which the residence of the principal tenant was not to be distinguished from the cottared fields surrounding it. I was at first much surprized at this, but after repeated observation, I found these men very generally were the masters of packs of wretched hounds, with which they wasted their time and money, and it is a notorious fact, that they are the hardest drinkers in Ireland. A circumstance they are almost naturally led to by their situation in life. Indeed the class of the small country gentlemen, chiefly consisting of these profit renters, seems at present to monopolize that drinking spirit, which was, not many years ago, the disgrace of the kingdom at large:

large: this I conjecture to be the reason why those who might improve are so very far from doing it; but there are still greater objections to them.

Living upon the spot, surrounded by their little undertenants, they prove the most oppressive species of tyrant, that ever lent assistance to the destruction of a country. They relet the land, at short tenures, to the occupiers of small farms; and often give no leases at all. Not satisfied with screwing up the rent to the uttermost farthing, they are rapacious and relentless in the collection of it. Many of them have defended themselves in conversation with me, upon the plea of taking their rents, partly in kind, when their undertenants are much distressed: "What," say they, "would the head landlord, suppose him a great nobleman, do with a miserable cottar, who, disappointed in the sale of a heifer, a few barrels of corn, or firkins of butter, brings his five instead of his ten guineas? But we can favour him by taking his commodities at a fair price, and wait for reimbursement until the market rises. Can my lord do that?" A very common plea, but the most unfortunate that could be used to any one whoever remarked that portion of human nature which takes the garb of an Irish land jobber! For upon what issue does this remark place the question? Does it not acknowledge, that calling for their rents, when they cannot be paid in cash, they take the substance of the debtor at the very moment when he cannot sell it to another? Can it be necessary to ask what the price is? It is at the option of the creditor; and the miserable culprit meets his oppression, perhaps his ruin in the very action that is trumpeted as a favour to him. It may seem harsh to attribute a want of feeling to any class of men; but

let not the reader misapprehend me; it is the *situation* not the *man*, that I condemn. An injudicious system places a great number of persons, not of any liberal rank in life, in a state abounding with a variety of opportunities of oppression, every act of which is profitable to themselves. I am afraid it is human nature for men to fail in such posts; and I appeal to the experience of mankind, in other lines of life, whether it is ever found advantageous to a poor debtor to sell his products, or wares, to his richer creditor, at the moment of demand.

BUT farther; the dependance of the occupier on the resident middle man goes to other circumstances, personal service of themselves, their cars and horses, are exacted for leading turf, hay, corn, gravel, &c. insomuch that the poor undertenants often lose their own crops and turf, from being obliged to obey these calls of their superiors. Nay, I have even heard those jobbers gravely assert, that without undertenants to furnish cars and teams at half or two thirds the common price of the country, they could carry on no improvements at all; yet taking a merit to themselves for works wrought out of the sweat and ruin of a pack of wretches, assigned to their plunder by the inhumanity of the landholders.

IN a word, the case is reducible to a short compass; intermediate tenants work no improvements; if non-resident they *cannot*, and if resident they *do not*; but they oppress the occupiers, and render them as incapable as they are themselves unwilling. The kingdom is an aggregate proof of these facts; for if long leases, at low rents, and profit incomes given, would have improved it, Ireland had long ago been
a garden

a garden. It remains to enquire, whether the landlords security is a full recompence for so much mischief.

BUT here it is proper to observe, that though the intermediate man is generally better security than the little occupier; yet it is not from thence to be concluded, as I have often heard it, that the latter is beyond all comparison beneath him in this respect: the contrary is often the case; and I have known the fact, that the landlord, disappointed of his rent, has *drove* (distraigned) the undertenants for it at a time when they had actually paid it to the middle man. If the profit rent is spent, as it very generally is in claret and hounds, the notion of good security will prove visionary, as many a landlord in Ireland has found it: several very considerable ones have assured me, that the little occupiers were the *best* pay they had on their estates; and the intermediate *gentlemen* tenants by much the *worst*.

BY the minutes of the journey it appears, that a very considerable part of the kingdom, and the most enlightened landlords in it, have discarded this injurious system, and let their farms to none but the occupying tenantry; their experience has proved, that the apprehension of a want of security was merely ideal, finding their rents much better paid than ever. At the last extremity it is the occupier's stock which is the real security of the landlord. It is that he distrains, and finds abundantly more valuable than the laced hat, hounds, and pistols of the gentleman jobber, from whom he is more likely in such a case to receive a *message*, than a remittance.

AND

AND here let me observe, that a defence of intermediate tenants has been founded upon the circumstance of lessening the remittance of absentee rents; the profit of the middle man was spent in Ireland, whereas upon his dismissal the whole is remitted to England. I admit this to be an evil, but it appears to be in no degree proportioned to the mischiefs I have dwelt on. It is always to be remembered, that in the arrangement of landed property, the produce is the great object; the system of letting, which encourages most the occupying tenant, will always be the most advantageous to the community. I think I have proved that the middle man oppresses the cottar incomparably more than the principal landlord; to the one he is usually tenant at will, or at least under short terms, but under the other has the most advantageous tenure. This single point, that the person most favoured is in one instance an idle burthen, and in the other the industrious occupier, sufficiently decides the superiority. To look therefore at the rent, after it is paid, is to put the question on a wrong issue; the payment of that rent, by means of ample products, arising from animated industry, is the only point deserving attention; and I had rather the whole of it should go to the antipodes, than exact it in a manner that shall cramp that industry, and lessen those products.

WHEN therefore it is considered, that no advantages to the estate can arise from a non-resident tenant, and that a resident intermediate one improves no more than the poor occupiers who are prevented by his oppressions, that the landlord often gains little or nothing in security from employing them, but that he suffers a prodigious deduction in his rental for mere expecta-

expectations, which every hour's experience proves to be delusive. When these facts are duly weighed, it is presumed, that the gentlemen in those parts of the kingdom, which yet groan under such a system of absurdity, folly and oppression, will follow the example set by such a variety of intelligent landlords, and be deaf to the deceitful asseverations with which their ears are assailed, to treat the anecdotes retailed of the cottar's poverty, with the contempt they deserve, when coming from the mouth of a jobber; when these bloodsuckers of the poor tenantry boast of their own improvements, to open their eyes and view the ruins which are dignified by such a term, and finally determine, as friends to themselves, to their posterity and their country, TO LET THEIR ESTATES TO NONE BUT THE OCCUPYING TENANTRY.

HAVING thus described the tenants that ought to be rejected, let me next mention the circumstances of the occupiers. The variety of these is very great in Ireland. In the North, where the linen manufacture has spread, the farms are so small, that ten acres in the occupation of one person is a large one, five or six will be found a good farm, and all the agriculture of the country so entirely subservient to the manufacture, that they no more deserve the name of farmers than the occupier of a mere cabbage garden. In Limerick, Tipperary, Clare, Meath and Waterford, there are to be found the greatest graziers and cow-keepers perhaps in the world, some who rent and occupy from 3000l. to 10,000l. a year; these of course are men of property, and are the only occupiers in the kingdom, who have any considerable substance. The effects are not so beneficial as might be expected. Rich graziers in England, who have a little tillage, usually manage

it well, and are in other respects attentive to various improvements, though it must be confessed not in the same proportion with great arable farmers; but in Ireland these men are as errant slovens as the most beggarly cottars. The rich lands of Limerick are in respect of fences, drains, buildings, weeds, &c. in as waste a state as the mountains of Kerry; the fertility of nature is so little seconded, that few tracts yield less pleasure to the spectator. From what I observed, I attributed this to the idleness and dissipation so general in Ireland. These graziers are too apt to attend to their claret as much as their bullocks; live expensively, and being enabled, from the nature of their business, to pass nine tenths of the year without any exertion of industry, contract such a habit of ease, that works of improvement would be mortifying to their sloth.

In the arable counties of Louth, part of Meath, Kildare, Kilkenny, Carlow, Queen's, and part of King's, and Tipperary, they are much more industrious. It is the nature of tillage, to raise a more regular and animated attention to business; but the farms are too small, and the tenants too poor, to exhibit any appearances that can strike an English traveller. They have a great deal of corn, and many fine wheat crops; but being gained at the expence and loss of a fallow, as in the open fields of England, they do not suggest the ideas of profit to the individual, or advantage to the state, which worse crops in a well appointed rotation would do. Their manuring is trivial, their tackle and implements wretched, their teams weak, their profit small, and their living little better than that of the cottars they employ. These circumstances are the necessary result of the smallness of their capital

capitals, which even in these tillage counties do not usually amount to a third of what an English farmer would have to manage the same extent of land. The leases of these men are usually three lives to protestants, and thirty-one years to catholics.

THE tenantry in the more unimproved parts, such as Corke, Wicklow, Longford, and all the mountainous counties, where it is part tillage, and part pasturage, are generally in a very backward state. Their capitals are smaller than the class I just mentioned, and among them is chiefly found the practice of many poor cottars hiring large farms in partnership. They make their rents by a little butter, a little wool, a little corn, and a few young cattle and lambs. Their lands at extreme low rents, are the most unimproved, (mountain and bog excepted,) in the kingdom. They have, however, more industry than capital; and with a very little management, might be brought greatly to improve their husbandry. I think they hold more generally from intermediate tenants than any other set; one reason why the land they occupy is in so waste a state. In the mountainous tracts, I saw instances of greater industry than in any other part of Ireland. Little occupiers, who can get leases of a mountain side, make exertions in improvement, which, though far enough from being complete, or accurate, yet prove clearly what great effects encouragement would have among them.

In the King's county, and also in some other parts, I saw many tracts of land, not large enough to be relet, which were occupied under leases for ever, very well planted and improved by men of substance and industry.

THE poverty, common among the small-occupying tenantry, may be pretty well ascertained from their general conduct in hiring a farm. They will manage to take one with a sum surprizingly small; they provide labour, which in England is so considerable an article, by assigning portions of land to cottars for their potatoe gardens, and keeping one or two cows for each of them. To lessen the live stock necessary, they will, whenever the neighbourhood enables them, take in the cattle at so much per month, or season, of any person that is deficient in pasturage at home, or of any labourers that have no land. Next, they will let out some old lay for grass potatoes to such labourers; and if they are in a county where corn acres are known, they will do the same with some corn land. If there is any meadow on their farm, they will sell a part of it as the hay grows. By all these means the necessity of a full stock is very much lessened, and by living themselves in the very poorest manner, and converting every pig, fowl, and even egg into cash, they will make up their rent, and get by very slow degrees into somewhat better circumstances. Where it is the custom to take in partnership, the difficulties are easier got over, for one man brings a few sheep, another a cow, a third a horse, a fourth a car and some seed potatoes, a fifth a few barrels of corn, and so on, until the farm among them is tolerably stocked, and hands upon it in plenty for the labour.

BUT it is from the whole evident, that they are uncommon masters of the art of overcoming difficulties by patience and contrivance. Travellers, who take a superficial view of them, are apt to think their poverty and wretchedness, viewed in the light of farmers, greater than they are. Perhaps there is an impropriety in

in considering a man merely as the occupier of such a quantity of land; and that instead of the land, his capital should be the object of contemplation. Give the farmer of twenty acres in England no more capital than his brother in Ireland, and I will venture to say he will be much poorer, for he would be utterly unable to go on at all.

I shall conclude what I have to say upon this subject, with stating, in few words, what I think would prove a very advantageous conduct in landlords towards the poor tenantry of the kingdom, and I shall do this with the greater readiness, as I speak not only as a passing traveller, but from a year's residence among several hundred tenants, whose circumstances and situation I had particular opportunities of observing.

LET me remark, that the power and influence of a resident landlord is so great in Ireland, that whatever system he adopts, be it well or ill imagined, he is much more able to introduce and accomplish it than Englishmen can well have an idea of; consequently, one may suppose him to determine more authoritatively than a person in a similar situation in this kingdom could do. The first object is a settled determination never to be departed from, to let his farms only to the immediate occupier of the land, and to avoid deceit not to allow a cottar, herdsman, or steward, to have more than three or four acres on any of his farms. By no means to reject the little occupier of a few acres from being a tenant to himself, rather than annex his land to a larger spot. Having, by this previous step, eased these inferior tenantry of the burthen of the intermediate man, let him give out, and steadily adhere to it, that he shall
 insist

insist on the regular and punctual payment of his rent, but shall take no personal service whatever. The meanest occupier to have a lease, and none shorter than twenty-one years, which I am inclined also to believe is long enough for his advantage. There will arise, in spite of his tenderness, a necessity of securing a regular payment of rent: I would advise him to distrain without favour or affection, at a certain period of deficiency. This will appear harsh only upon a superficial consideration. The object is to establish the system, but it will fall before it is on its legs, if founded on a landlord's forgiving arrears, or permitting them to increase. He need not be apprehensive, since they, who can under disadvantages, pay the *jobber*, can certainly pay the *landlord* himself, when freed from those incumbrances. At all events, let him persist in this firmness, though it be the ruin of a few; for he must remember, that if he ruins five, he assuredly saves ten; he will, it is true, know the fall of a few, but many with an intermediate tenant might be destroyed without his knowing it. Such a steady regular conduct would infallibly have its effect, in animating all the tenantry of the estate to exert every nerve to be punctual; whereas favour shewn now and then would make every one, the least inclined to remissness, hope for its exertion towards himself, and every partial good would be attended with a diffusive evil; exceptions however to be made for very great and unavoidable misfortunes, clearly and undoubtedly proved. This stern administration on the one hand should be accompanied on the other with every species of encouragement to those, who shewed the least disposition to improve; premiums should be given, rewards adjudged, difficulties smoothed, and notice taken, in the most flattering manner, of those whose conduct merited.

rited it. I shall in another part of these papers point out, in detail, the advantageous systems; it is here only requisite to observe, that whatever novelties a landlord wishes to introduce, he should give seed gratis, and be at a part of the expence, promising to be at the whole loss, if he is well satisfied it is really incurred. From various observations I am convinced, that such a conduct would very rarely prove unsuccessful. The profit to a landlord would be immense; he would in the course of a lease find his tenantry paying a high rent, with greater ease to themselves, than they before yielded a low one.

A few considerable landlords, many years ago, made the experiment of fixing at great expence, colonies of palatines on their estates. Some of them I viewed, and made many enquiries. The scheme did not appear to me to answer. They had houses built for them; plots of land assigned to each at a rent of favour, assisted in stock, and all of them with leases for lives from the head landlord. The poor Irish are very rarely treated in this manner; when they are, they work much greater improvements than common among these Germans; witness Sir William Osborne's mountaineers! a few beneficial practices were introduced, but never travelled beyond their own farms; they were viewed with eyes too envious to allow them to be patterns, and it was human nature that it should be so: but encourage a few of your own poor, and if their practices thrive they will spread. I am convinced no country, whatever state it may be in, can be improved by colonies of foreigners, and whatever foreigner, as a superintendent of any great improvement, asks for colonies of his own countrymen to execute his ideas, manifests a mean genius and but little knowledge of the

the human heart; if he has talents, he will find tools wherever he finds men, and make the natives of the country the means of increasing their own happiness. Whatever he does then, will live and take root; but if effected by foreign hands, it will prove a sickly and short lived exotic; brilliant perhaps, for a time, in the eyes of the ignorant, but of no solid advantage to the country that employs him. But I found this observation merely in agriculture; for every one's recollection will tell him instances of manufactures being established and advanced by foreigners.

S E C T I O N VI.

Of the Labouring Poor.

SUCH is the weight of the lower classes in the great scale of national importance, that a traveller can never give too much attention to every circumstance that concerns them; their welfare forms the broad basis of public prosperity; it is they that feed, cloath, enrich, and fight the battles of all the other ranks of a community; it is their being able to support these various burthens without oppression, which constitutes the general felicity; in proportion to their ease is the strength and wealth of nations, as public debility will be the certain attendant on their misery. Convinced that to be ignorant of their state and situation, in different countries, is to be deficient in the first rudiments of political knowledge, I have, upon every occasion, made the necessary enquiries, to get the best information circumstances would allow me. What passes daily, and even hourly, before our eyes, we are very apt entirely to overlook; hence the surprizing inattention of various people to the food, cloathing, possessions

sions and state of the poor, even in their own neighbourhood: many a question have I put to gentlemen upon these points, which were not answered without having recourse to the next cabin; a source of information the more necessary, as I found upon various occasions, that some gentlemen in Ireland are infected with the rage of adopting *systems* as well as those of England: with one party the poor are all starving, with the other they are deemed in a very tolerable situation, and a third, who look with an evil eye on the administration of the British government, are fond of exclaiming at poverty and rags, as proofs of the cruel treatment of Ireland. When truth is likely to be thus warped, a traveller must be very circumspect to believe, and very assiduous to see.

	l.	s.	d.
THE average rent of a cabin and garden			
in the minutes is	—	—	—
Ditto rent for a cow's grass	—	—	—
	1	13	10
	1	11	3

From the minutes of the journey it will be found, that there is no determinate quantity of land for the potatoe garden; it is usually an acre; sometimes half an acre, and sometimes one acre and an half; but according to the soil, that quantity which is understood (right or wrong) to be necessary, is called the garden. The grass for a cow is for the green food only, the cottar himself finds or buys hay. Respecting the number of cows, it generally appeared, that by far the greater part have one or more.

BUT it is necessary here to explain the common cottar system of labour in Ireland, which much resembles that of Scotland until very lately, and which was probably the same all over Europe before arts and commerce changed the face of it. If there are cabins on a farm,

a farm, they are the residence of the cottars; if there are none the farmer marks out the potatoe gardens, and the labourers who apply to him on his hiring the land raise their own cabbins on such spots; in some places the farmer builds; in others he only assists them with the roof, &c. a verbal compact is then made, that the new cottar shall have his potatoe garden at such a rent, and one or two cows kept him at the price of the neighbourhood, he finding the cows. He then works with the farmer at the rate of the place, usually sixpence half-penny a day, a tally being kept (half by each party) and a notch cut for every day's labour; at the end of six months, or a year, they reckon, and the balance is paid. The cottar works for himself, as his potatoes require.

The rates of

£. 1 13 10

And,

1 11 3

Forming together

3 5 1

for milk and potatoes appear to be very reasonable; if two cows are kept, it is only 4l. 16s. 4d. from whence it is evident, as far merely as this charge goes, there is no oppression upon them which can ever amount to starving. In particular instances, where there is much inhumanity in the greater tenants, they are made to pay too high a rent for their gardens; and though the price, at which their cows are supported, may not appear high, yet they may be so poorly kept as to make it very unreasonable. I believe, from what I saw, that such instances are not uncommon.

POTATOES.

LABOURING POOR. 11

POTATOES.

	Expense per acre.	Product, Barrels.	Price per barrel.	Produce value.	Prime cost.	Rent pot- toe ground.
Averages of the journey per Irish acre.	10 4 9	82	4 9	16 12 6	2 7½	5 10 2
Averages per En- lish acre.	6 7 6	52	4 9	10 7 0	2 7½	3 8 6

THESE tables together will enable the reader to have a pretty accurate idea of the expences at which the poor in Ireland are fed. The first column is the total expence of an acre of potatoes, the third is the price at which potatoes are bought and sold, for seed, or food. The prime cost is the price formed by the first and second columns, being the rate at which they are eaten by those who raise them. The last column requires rather more explanation to those who were never in that country. There are a great many cabins, usually by the road side, or in the ditch, which have no potatoe gardens at all. Ireland being free from the curse of English poor laws, the people move about the country and settle where they will. A wandericg family will fix themselves under a dry bank, and with a few sticks, furze, fern, &c. make up a hovel much worse than an English pigstie, support themselves how they can, by work, begging and stealing; if the neighbourhood wants hands, or takes no notice of them, the hovel grows into a cabin. In my rides about Mitchelstown, I have passed places in the road one day, without any appearance of a habitation, and next morning found a hovel, filled with a man and woman, six or eight children, and a pig. These people are not kept by any body as cottars, but are taken at busy seasons by the day or week, and paid in

in money, consequently having no potatoe garden, they are necessitated every year, to hire a spot of some neighbouring farmer, and in the preceding table, the last column, is the rent per acre paid for it. The cabins in little towns are in the same situation.

I THINK 5l. 10s. 2d. for liberty to plant a crop so beneficial to the land as potatoes, a very extravagant rent, and by no means upon a fair level with the other circumstances of the poor. The prime cost of two shillings and seven pence half-penny per barrel, generally of twenty stone, being equal to about eight pence the bushel of seventy pounds, is not a high price for the root, yet might it be much lower, if they gave up their lazy bad method of culture, and adopted that of the plough, for the average produce of three hundred twenty-eight bushels, or eighty-two barrels per acre, compared with crops in England, is perfectly insignificant, yet to gain this miserable produce, much old lay, and nineteen twentieths of all the dung in the kingdom are employed. A total alteration in this point is therefore much to be wished.

RELATIVE to the cottar system wherever it is found, it may be observed that the recompence for labour is *the means of living*. In England these are dispensed in money, but in Ireland in land or commodities. In the former country paying the poor with any thing but money has been found so oppressive, that various and repeated statutes have been made to prohibit it. Is it to be considered in the same light in Ireland? this is a question which involves many considerations. First let me remark that the two modes of payment prohibited in England but common in Ireland, are not exactly the same, though upon similar principles. In

England

England it is the payment of manufacturing labourers in necessaries, as bread, candles, soap, &c. In Ireland it is a quantity of land for the support of a labourer a year. The former it must strike every one, is more open to abuse, involving more complex accounts than the latter. The great question is, which system is most advantageous to the poor family, the payment to be in land for potatoes and milk, or in money, supposing the payment to be fairly made : here lies the discussion.

On one hand, the Irish labourer in every circumstance which gives him any appearance of plenty, the possession of cattle is subjected to chances which must be heavy in proportion to his poverty ; ill fed cattle, we know from the experience of English commons, are very far from being so advantageous to a man as they at first seem ; accidents happen without a resource to supply the loss, and leave the man much worse than him who being paid in money is independant of such events. But to reverse the medal, there appear advantages, and very great ones, by being paid in land, he has plenty of articles of the utmost importance to the sustenance of a family, potatoes and milk. Generally speaking, the Irish poor have a fair bellyfull of potatoes, and they have milk the greatest part of the year. What I would particularly insist on here is the value of his labour being food, not money ; food not for himself only, but for his wife and children. An Irishman loves whisky as well as an Englishman does strong beer ; but he cannot go on saturday night to the whisky house, and drink out the week's support of himself, his wife and his children, not uncommon in the alehouse of the Englishman. It may indeed be said, that we should not argue against a mode of payment because it may be abused, which is very true, but

we certainly may reason against that which carries in its very principles the seed of abuse. That the Irishman's cow may be ill fed is admitted, but ill fed as it is, it is better than the no cow of the Englishman; the children of the Irish cabin are nourished with milk, which, small as the quantity may be, is far preferable to the beer or vile tea which is the beverage of the English infant, for nowhere but in a town is milk to be bought. Farther, in a country where bread, cheese or meat are the common food, it is consumed with great œconomy, and kept under lock and key where the children can have no resort; but the case with potatoes is different, they are in greater plenty, the children help themselves; they are scarce ever seen about a cabin without being in the act of eating them, it is their employment all day long. Another circumstance not to be forgotten, is the regularity of the supply. The crop of potatoes, and the milk of the cow, are more regular in Ireland than the *price* at which the Englishman buys his food. In England complaints rise even to riots when the rates of provisions are high; but in Ireland the poor have nothing to do with prices, they depend not on prices, but crops of a vegetable very regular in its produce. Attend the English labourer when he is in sickness, he must then have resort to his savings, but those will be nought among nine-tenths of the poor of a country that have a legal dependance on the parish, which therefore is the best off, the Englishman supported by the parish, or the Irishman by his potatoe bed and cow?

MONEY I am ready enough to grant has many advantages, but they depend almost entirely on the prudence with which it is expended. They know little of the human mind who suppose that the poor man, with

with his seven or eight shillings on a saturday night, has not his temptations to be imprudent as well as his superior with as many hundreds or thousands a year. He has his alehouse, his brandy shop, and skittle ground, as much as the other his ball, opera or masquerade. Examine the state of the English poor, and see if facts do not co-incide here with theory; do we not see numbers of half starved, and half clothed families, owing to the superfluities of ale and brandy, tea and sugar. An Irishman cannot do this in any degree, he can neither drink whisky from his potatoes, nor milk it from his cow.

BUT after all that can be said on this subject, the custom of both countries is consistent with their respective circumstances and situations. When great wealth from immense branches of industry has brought on a rapid circulation, and much of what is commonly called luxury, the more simple mode of paying labour with land can scarcely hold. It does not, however, follow that the poor are in that respect better off, other advantages of a different kind attend the evils of such a situation, among which, perhaps, the employment of the wife and all the children, are the greatest. In such a country, also markets and shops will be established in every corner, where the poor may buy their necessaries without difficulty; but in Ireland there are neither one nor the other; the labourer there with his pay in his pocket would find nothing readily but whisky.

I have gone into this enquiry in order to satisfy the people of Ireland, that the mode there common of paying the labouring poor is consistent with the situation of the kingdom: whether it is good or bad, or

better or worse than that of England, it is what will necessarily continue until a great increase of national wealth has introduced a more general circulation of money, they will then have the English mode with its defects as well as its advantages.

F O O D.

THE food of the common Irish, potatoes and milk, have been produced more than once as an instance of the extreme poverty of the country, but this I believe is an opinion embraced with more alacrity than reflection. I have heard it stigmatized as being unhealthy, and not sufficiently nourishing for the support of hard labour; but this opinion is very amazing in a country, many of whose poor people are as athletic in their form, as robust, and as capable of enduring labour as any upon earth. The idleness seen among many when working for those who oppress them is a very contrast to the vigour and activity with which the same people work, when themselves alone reap the benefit of their labour. To what country must we have recourse for a stronger instance than lime carried by little miserable mountaineers thirty miles on horses back to the foot of their hills, and up the steeps on their own. When I see the people of a country, in spite of political oppression, with well formed vigorous bodies, and their cottages swarming with children; when I see their men athletic, and their women beautiful, I know not how to believe them subsisting on an unwholesome food.

At the same time, however, that both reason and observation convince me of the justice of these remarks, I will candidly allow that I have seen such an excess in
the

the laziness of great numbers, even when working for themselves, and such an apparent weakness in their exertions when encouraged to work, that I have had my doubts of the heartiness of their food. But here arise fresh difficulties; were their food ever so nourishing, I can easily conceive an habitual inactivity of exertion would give them an air of debility compared with a more industrious people. Though my residence in Ireland was not long enough to become a perfect master of the question, yet I have employed from twenty to fifty men for several months, and found their habitual laziness or weakness so great, whether working by measure or by day, that I am absolutely convinced 1s. 6d. and even 2s. a day, in Suffolk or Hertfordshire, much cheaper than six-pence halfpenny at Mitchelstown: it would not be fair to consider this as a representation of the kingdom, that place being remarkably backward in every species of industry and improvement; but I am afraid this observation would hold true in a less degree for the whole. But is this owing to habit or food? Granting their food to be the cause, it decides very little against potatoes, unless they were tried with good nourishing beer instead of their vile potations of whisky. When they are encouraged, or animate themselves to work hard, it is all by whisky, which though it has a notable effect in giving a perpetual motion to their tongues, can have but little of that invigorating substance which is found in strong beer or porter, probably it has an effect as pernicious, as the other is beneficial. One circumstance I should mention, which seems to confirm this, I have known the Irish reapers in Hertfordshire work as labouriously as any of our own men, and living upon potatoes which they procured from London, but drinking nothing but ale. If their bodies are weak, I

attribute it to whisky, not potatoes; but it is still a question with me whether their miserable working arises from any such weakness, or from an habitual laziness. A friend of mine always refused Irishmen work in Surrey, saying his bailiff could do nothing but settle their quarrels.

BUT of this food there is one circumstance which must ever recommend it, they have a bellyfull, and that let me add is more than the superfluities of an Englishman leaves to his family: let any person examine minutely into the receipt and expenditure of an English cottage, and he will find that tea, sugar, and strong liquors, can come only from pinched bellies, I will not assert that potatoes are a better food than bread and cheese; but I have no doubt of a bellyfull of the one being much better than half a bellyfull of the other; still less have I that the milk of the Irishman is incomparably better than the small beer, gin, or tea of the Englishman; and this even for the father, how much better must it be for the poor infants; milk to them is nourishment, is health, is life.

IF any one doubts the comparative plenty, which attends the board of a poor native of England and Ireland, let him attend to their meals; the sparingness with which our labourer eats his bread and cheese is well known; mark the Irishman's potatoe bowl placed on the floor, the whole family upon their hams around it, devouring a quantity almost incredible, the beggar seating himself to it with a hearty welcome, the pig taking his share as readily as the wife, the cocks, hens, turkies, geese, the cur, the cat, and perhaps the cow—and all partaking of the same dish. No man can often have been a witness of it without being convinced

vinced of the plenty, and I will add the chearfulness that attends it.

Is it, or is it not a matter of consequence, for the great body of the people of a country, to subsist upon that species of food which is produced in the greatest quantity by the smallest space of land? One need only to state, in order to answer the question. It certainly is an object of the highest consequence, what in this respect is the comparison between wheat or cheese, or meat and potatoes?

THE minutes of the journey will enable us to shew this.

No. 1. At Shaen castle, Queen's county, a barrel of potatoes lasts a family of six persons a week.

No. 2. At Shaen castle, Antrim, six people eat three bushels, and twenty pounds of oatmeal besides, in a week, twenty pounds of meal are equal to one bushel of potatoes; this therefore is a barrel also.

No. 3. Leslie hill, a barrel of four bushels six persons a week.

No. 4. Near Giant's causeway, a barrel six people eight days.

No. 5. Castle Caldwell, a barrel of eighteen stone six people a week.

No. 6. Gloster, a barrel five persons a week.

No. 7. Derry, five persons eat and waste two barrels a week.

No. 8. Cullen, two barrels six persons a week.

	Barrels.	Persons.	Days.
No. 1	— 1	— 6	— 7
2	— 1	— 6	— 7
3	— 1	— 6	— 7
4	— 1	— 6	— 8
5	— 1	— 6	— 7
6	— 1	— 5	— 7
7	— 2	— 5	— 7
8	— 2	— 6	— 7

A BARREL is twenty stones, or two hundred and eighty pounds, which is the weight of four English bushels; the average of these accounts is nearly that quantity lasting a family of six people six days, which makes a year's food sixty barrels. Now the average produce of the whole kingdom being eighty-two barrels per acre, plantation measure, one acre does rather more than support eight persons the year through, which is five persons to the English acre. To feed on wheat those eight persons would require eight quarters, or two Irish acres, which at present, imply two more for fallow, or four in all.

WHEN, however, I speak of potatoes and butter-milk being the food of the poor, the tables already inserted shew, that in some parts of the north that root forms their diet but for a part of the year, much oat-meal and some meat being consumed. I need not dwell on this, as there is nothing particular to attend to in it, whereas potatoes, as the staple dependance, is a peculiarity met with in no country but the other parts of Ireland.

CLOATH-

CLOATHING.

THE common Irish are in general cloathed so very indifferently, that it impresses every stranger with a strong idea of universal poverty. Shoes and stockings are scarcely ever found on the feet of children of either sex; and great numbers of men and women are without them: a change, however, in this respect as in most others, is coming in, for there are many more of them with those articles of cloathing now than ten years ago.

AN Irishman and his wife are much more solicitous to feed than to cloathe their children: whereas in England it is surprizing to see the expence they put themselves to, to deck out children whose principal subsistence is tea. Very many of them in Ireland are so ragged that their nakedness is scarcely covered; yet are they in health and active. As to the want of shoes and stockings I consider it as no evil, but a much more cleanly custom than the beastiality of stockings and feet that are washed no oftner than those of our own poor. Women are oftner without shoes than men; and by washing their cloaths no where but in rivers and streams, the cold, especially as they roast their legs in their cabbins till they are *fire* spotted, must swell them to the wonderful size and with the horrid black and blue colour always met with both in young and old. They stand in rivers and beat the linen against the great stones found there with a beetle.

I remarked generally, that they were not ill dressed on fundays and holidays, and that black or dark blue was almost the universal hue.

HABI-

HABITATIONS.

THE cottages of the Irish, which are all called cabbins, are the most miserable looking hovels that can well be conceived: they generally consist of only one room: mud kneaded with straw is the common materials of the walls; these are rarely above seven feet high, and not always above five or six; they are about two feet thick, and have only a door, which lets in light instead of a window, and should let the smoak out instead of a chimney, but they had rather keep it in: these two conveniencies they hold so cheap, that I have seen them both stopped up in stone cottages, built by improving landlords; the smoak warms them, but certainly is as injurious to their eyes as it is to the complexions of the women, which in general in the cabbins of Ireland has a near resemblance to that of a smoaked ham. The number of the blind poor I think greater there than in England, which is probably owing to this cause.

THE roofs of the cabbins are rafters, raised from the tops of the mud walls, and the covering varies; some are thatched with straw, potatoe stalks, or with heath, others only covered with sods of turf cut from a grass field; and I have seen several that were partly composed of all three; the bad repair these roofs are kept in, a hole in the thatch being often mended with turf, and weeds sprouting from every part, gives them the appearance of a weedy dunghill, especially when the cabin is not built with regular walls, but supported on one, or perhaps on both sides by the banks of a broad dry ditch, the roof then seems a hillock, upon which perhaps the pig grazes. Some of these cabbins are much less and more miserable habitations than



An Iron



J. Taylor sculp.

The Irish Cabin.

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than I had ever seen in England. I was told they were the worst in Connaught, but I found it an error; I saw many in Leinster to the full as bad, and in Wicklow, some worse than any in Connaught. When they are well roofed, and built not of stones, ill put together, but of mud, they are much warmer, independently of smoak, than the clay, or lath and mortar cottages of England, the walls of which are so thin that a rat hole lets in the wind to the annoyance of the whole family. The furniture of the cabbins is as bad as the architecture; in very many, consisting only of a pot for boiling their potatoes, a bit of a table, and one or two broken stools; beds are not found universally, the family laying on straw, equally partook of by cows, calves, and pigs, though the luxury of sties is coming in in Ireland, which excludes the poor pigs from the warmth of the bodies of their master and mistress: I remarked little hovels of earth thrown up near the cabbins, and in some places they build their turf stacks hollow, in order to afford shelter to the hogs. This is a general description, but the exceptions are very numerous. I have been in a multitude of cabbins that had much useful furniture, and some even superfluous; chairs, tables, boxes, chests of drawers, earthenware, and in short most of the articles found in a middling English cottage; but upon enquiry, I very generally found that these acquisitions were all made within the last ten years, a sure sign of a rising national prosperity. I think the bad cabbins and furniture the greatest instances of Irish poverty, and this must flow from the mode of payment for labour, which makes cattle so valuable to the peasant, that every farthing they can spare is saved for their purchase; from hence also results another observation, which is, that the apparent poverty of it is greater than

than the real; for the house of a man that is master of four or five cows, will have scarce any thing but deficiencies; nay, I was in the cabbins of dairymen and farmers, not small ones, whose cabbins were not at all better, or better furnished than those of the poorest labourer: before, therefore, we can attribute it to absolute poverty, we must take into the account the customs and inclinations of the people. In England a man's cottage will be filled with superfluities before he possesses a cow. I think the comparison much in favour of the Irishman; a hog is a much more valuable piece of goods than a set of tea things; and though his snout in a *crook* * of potatoes is an idea not so poetical as

— Broken tea cups, wisely kept for shew,
Rang'd o'er the chimney, glisten'd in a row.

Yet will the cottar and his family, at christmas, find the solidity of it an ample recompence for the ornament of the other.

L I V E S T O C K.

IN every part of the kingdom the common Irish have all sorts of live stock: the tables already inserted shew this in respect of cows. I should add here that pigs are yet more general, and poultry in many parts of the kingdom, especially Leinster are in such quantities as amazed me, not only cocks and hens, but also geese and turkies; this is owing probably to three circumstances; first, to the plenty of potatoes

* The iron pot of an Irish cabin.

with

with which they are fed ; secondly, to the warmth of the cabbins ; and thirdly, to the great quantity of spontaneous white clover (*trifolium repens*) in almost all the fields, which much exceeds any thing we know in England ; upon the seeds of this plant the young poultry rear themselves ; much is sold, but a considerable portion eaten by the family, probably because they cannot find a market for the whole. Many of the cocks, hens, turkies, and geese, have their legs tied together to prevent them from trespassing on the farmers grounds. Indeed all the live stock of the poor man in Ireland is in this sort of thralldom ; the horses are all hopping about, the pigs have a rope of straw from around their necks to their hind legs. In the county of Down they have an ingenious contrivance for a sheep just to feed down the grass of a ditch, a rope with a stake at each end and the sheep tied to a ring, through which it passes, so that the animal can move from one end of the rope to the other, and eat whatever grows within two or three feet of it.

THE following is the price and rise of labour upon an average of the kingdom :

			l.	s.	d.
In hay and harvest	—	—	0	0	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
In winter	—	—	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
The year round	—	—	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rise in 20 years	—	—	0	0	1 $\frac{3}{4}$

THE rise is very near a fourth in twenty years ; and it is remarkable that, in my Eastern Tour through England (vol. iv. p. 338.) I found the rise of labour one fourth in eighteen years ; from which it appears, that the two kingdoms, in this respect, have been nearly on a par.

THE

THE following are upon an average of the whole journey :

		l.	s.	d.
A carpenter per diem	—	0	1	9
A mason	—	0	1	9
A thatcher	—	0	1	3

WHEN it is considered that common labour in Ireland is but little more than a third of what it is in England, it may appear extraordinary that artizans are paid nearly, if not full, as high as in that kingdom.

OPPRESSION.

BEFORE I conclude this article of the common labouring poor in Ireland, I must observe, that their happiness depends not merely upon the payment of their labour, their cloaths, or their food ; the subordination of the lower classes, degenerating into oppression, is not to be overlooked. The poor in all countries, and under all governments, are both paid and fed, yet is there an infinite difference between them. This enquiry will by no means turn out so favourable as the preceding articles. It must be very apparent to every traveller through that country, that the labouring poor are treated with harshness, and are in all respects so little considered, that their want of importance seems a perfect contrast to their situation in England, of which country, comparatively speaking, they reign the sovereigns. The age has improved so much in humanity, that even the poor Irish have experienced its influence, and are every day treated better and better ; but still the remnant of the old manners, the abominable distinction of religion, united with the oppressive conduct

conduct of the little country gentlemen, or rather vermin of the kingdom, who never were out of it, altogether bear still very heavy on the poor people, and subject them to situations more mortifying than we ever behold in England. The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by roman catholicks, is a sort of despot who yields obedience in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but that of his will. To discover what the liberty of a people is, we must live among them, and not look for it in the statutes of the realm: the language of law may be that of liberty, but the situation of the poor may speak no language but that of slavery; there is too much of this contradiction in Ireland; a long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill judged laws, have brought landlords into a habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an almost unlimited submission: speaking a language that is despised, professing a religion that is abhorred, and being disarmed, the poor find themselves in many cases slaves even in the bosom of *written* liberty. Landlords that have resided much abroad, are usually humane in their ideas, but the habit of tyranny naturally contracts the mind; so that even in this polished age, there are instances of a severe carriage towards the poor, which is quite unknown in England.

A landlord in Ireland can scarcely invent an order which a servant labourer or cottar dares to refuse to execute. Nothing satisfies him but an unlimited submission. Disrespect or any thing tending towards sauciness he may punish with his cane or his horsewhip with the most perfect security, a poor man would have his bones broke if he offered to lift his hand in his own defence. Knocking down is spoken of in the
country

country in a manner that makes an Englishman stare. Landlords of consequence have assured me, that many of their cottars would think themselves honoured by having their wives or daughters sent for to the bed of their master; a mark of slavery that proves the oppression under which such people must live. Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of people being made free with without any apprehension of the justice of a jury. But let it not be imagined that this is common; formerly it happened every day, but law gains ground. It must strike the most careless traveller to see whole strings of cars whipt into a ditch by a gentleman's footman to make way for his carriage; if they are overturned or broken in pieces, it is taken in patience, were they to complain, they would perhaps be horse-whipped. The execution of the laws lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any animal that chuses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed affront, and he will infallibly be *called out*. Where MANNERS are in conspiracy against LAW, to whom are the oppressed people to have recourse? It is a fact that a poor man having a contest with a gentleman must—but I am talking nonsense, they know their situation too well to think of it; they can have no defence but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat.

THE colours of this picture are not charged. To assert that all these cases are common, would be an exaggeration; but to say that an unfeeling landlord will do all this with impunity, is to keep strictly to truth: and

and what is liberty but a farce if its blessings are received as the favour of kindness, instead of being the inheritance of RIGHT?

CONSEQUENCES have flowed from these oppressions which ought long ago to have put a stop to them. In England we have heard much of white-boys, steel-boys, oak-boys, peep-of-day-boys, &c. But these various insurgents are not to be confounded, for they were very different. The proper distinction in the discontents of the people is into protestant and catholic. All but the white-boys were among the manufacturing protestants in the north. The white-boys catholic labourers in the south: from the best intelligence I could gain, the riots of the manufacturers had no other foundation, but such variations in the manufacture as all fabrics experience, and which they had themselves known and submitted to before. The case, however, was different with the white-boys; who being labouring catholics, met with all those oppressions I have described, and would probably have continued in full submission, had not very severe treatment in respect of tythes, united with a great speculative rise of rents about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance: the atrocious acts they were guilty of made them the object of general indignation; acts were passed for their punishment which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary; this arose to such a height that by one they were to be hanged under certain circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which though repealed, the following sessions marks the spirit of punishment; while others remain yet the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection. From all which it is manifest that the gentlemen of Ireland

never thought of a radical cure from overlooking the real cause of the disease, which in fact lay in themselves, and not in the wretches they doomed to the gallows. Let them change their own conduct entirely, and the poor will not long riot. Treat them like men who ought to be as free as yourselves; put an end to that system of religious persecution which for seventy years has divided the kingdom against itself; in these two circumstances lies the cure of insurrection, perform them completely, and you will have an affectionate poor, instead of oppressed and discontented vassals. A better treatment of them is a very material point to the welfare of the whole British empire. Events may happen which may convince us fatally of this truth—If not, oppression must have broken all the spirit and resentment of men. By what policy the government of England can for so many years have permitted such an absurd system to be matured, is beyond the power of plain sense to discover.

EMIGRATIONS.

BEFORE the American war broke out, the Irish and Scotch emigrations were a constant subject of conversation in England, and occasioned much discourse even in parliament. The common observation was, that if they were not stopped, those countries would be ruined, and they were generally attributed to a great rise of rents. Upon going over to Ireland, I determined to omit no opportunity of discovering the cause and extent of this emigration, and my information, as may be seen in the minutes of the journey, was very regular. I have only a few general remarks to make on it here.

THE spirit of emigrating in Ireland appeared to be confined to two circumstances, the presbyterian religion, and the linen manufacture. I heard of very few emigrants except among manufacturers of that persuasion. The catholics never went, they seem not only tied to the country but almost to the parish in which their ancestors lived. As to the emigration in the north, it was an error in England to suppose it a novelty which arose with the increase in rents. The contrary was the fact; it had subsisted, perhaps, forty years, inasmuch, that at the ports of Belfast, Derry, &c. the *passenger trade*, as they called it, had long been a regular branch of commerce, which employed several ships, and consisted in carrying people to America. The increasing population of the country made it an increasing trade, but when the linen trade was low, the *passenger trade* was always high. At the time of Lord Donnegal's letting his estate in the north, the linen business suffered a temporary decline, which sent great numbers to America, and gave rise to the error that it was occasioned by the increase of his rents: the fact, however, was otherwise, for great numbers of those who went from his lands actually sold those leases for considerable sums, the hardship of which was supposed to have driven them to America. Some emigration, therefore, always existed, and its increase depended on the fluctuations of linen; but as to the *effect* there was as much error in the conclusions drawn in England as before in the *cause*.

It is the misfortune of all manufactures worked for a foreign market to be upon an insecure footing, periods of declension will come, and when in consequence of them great numbers of people are out of employment, the best circumstance is their enlisting

in the army or navy, and it is the common result; but unfortunately the manufacture in Ireland (of which I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter), is not confined as it ought to be to towns, but spreads into all the cabbins of the country. Being half farmers, half manufacturers, they have too much property in cattle, &c. to enlist when idle: if they convert it into cash it will enable them to pay their passage to America, an alternative always chosen in preference to the military life. The consequence is, that they must live without work till their substance is quite consumed before they will enlist. Men who are in such a situation that from various causes they cannot work, and won't enlist should emigrate, if they stay at home they must remain a burthen upon the community; emigration should not, therefore, be condemned in states so ill governed as to possess many people willing to work, but without employment.

SECTION VII.

Of Religion.

THE history of the two religions in Ireland is too generally known to require any detail introductory to the subject. The conflict for two centuries occasioned a scene of devastation and bloodshed, till at last by the arms of king William the decision left the uncontrouled power in the hands of the protestants. The landed property of the kingdom had been greatly changed in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Still more under Cromwell, who parcelled out an immense proportion of the kingdom to the officers of his army, the ancestors of great numbers of the present possessors: the colonels of his regiments left estates which

which are now eight and ten thousand a year, and I know several gentlemen of two and three thousand pounds a year at present which they inherit from captains in the same service. The last forfeitures were incurred in that war which stripped and banished James II. Upon the whole nineteen twentieths of the kingdom changed hands from catholic to protestant. The lineal descendants of great families, once possessed of vast property, are now to be found all over the kingdom in the lowest situation, working as cottars for the great great grandsons of men, many of whom were of no greater account in England than these poor labourers are at present on that property which was once their own. So entire an overthrow, and change of landed possession, is within the period to be found in scarcely any country in the world. In such great revolutions of property the ruined proprietors have usually been extirpated or banished; but in Ireland the case was otherwise: families were so numerous and so united in clans, that the heir of an estate was always known; and it is a fact, that in most parts of the kingdom the descendants of the old land owners regularly transmit by testamentary deed the memorial of their right to those estates which once belonged to their families. From hence it results that the question of religion has always in Ireland been intimately connected with the right to and possession of the landed property of the kingdom; and has probably received from this source a degree of acrimony, not at all wanting to influence the superstitious prejudices of the human mind.

Flushed with success after the victory of the Boyne, and animated with the recollection of recent injuries, it would not have been surprizing if the

triumphant party had exceeded the bounds of moderation towards the catholic, but the amazing circumstance is, that the great category of persecuting laws was not framed during the life of that monarch, who wisely was a friend to toleration: if ever such a system as would crush the minds of a conquered people into a slavish submission was necessary, it must have been under that new, and in many respects weak establishment, when the late conflict might have been an apparent justification: but why such a system should be embraced six or seven years after the death of king William is not so easy to be accounted for.

By the laws of discovery as they are called:

1. The whole body of roman catholics are absolutely disarmed.
2. They are incapacitated from purchasing land.
3. The entails of their estates are broken, and they gavel among the children.
4. If one child abjures that religion he inherits the whole estate, though he is the youngest.
5. If the son abjures the religion the father has no power over his estate, but becomes a pensioner on it in favour of such son.
6. No catholic can take a lease for more than thirty-one years*.
7. If the rent of any catholick is less than two-thirds of the full improved value, whoever discovers takes the benefit of the lease.
8. Priests who celebrate mass to be transported, and if they return to be hanged.
9. A catholic having a horse in his possession above the value of five pounds, to forfeit the same to the discoverer.

* By a late law they can now take leases for lives.

10. By

10. By a construction of lord Hardwick's, they are incapacitated from lending money on mortgage.

THE preceding catalogue is very imperfect, but here is an exhibition of oppression fully sufficient. The great national objects in framing laws against the profession and practice of any religion, may be reduced to three heads. 1st. The propagation of the dominant faith. 2d. Internal security. 3d. National prosperity: the fairest way to judge of the laws of Ireland will be to enquire how far they have answered any or all of these ends,

THAT it is a desirable object in some respects to have a people if not all of one persuasion, at least in good friendship and brotherhood, as to religion is undeniable. Though I think there are reasons against wishing a whole kingdom to profess only one similar faith. It excludes a variety of disquisitions which exercise and animate the talents of mankind; it encourages the priests of the national religion to a relaxation of their studies, their activity and even their morals, and tends to introduce a lazy, wretched, vicious, and ignorant clergy: it is opposition and contrast that sharpen the wits of men. But waving these objections, and considering the question only in a political view, I admit that such a similarity of worship as is followed by laws equal to the whole community to be an advantage, let us therefore examine whether the Irish intolerant ones have had the effect or not.

THAT they have lessened the landed property in the hands of the catholics is certain; their violence could not have had any other effect, but not, however, to such a degree as might have been imagined. There

are principles of honour, religion, and ties of blood too powerful for tyrannic laws to overcome, and which have prevented their full effect. I am not convinced that the conversion of the land owners while all the rabble retained their religion, was an advantage to the kingdom. Great possessions gave those landlords an interest in the public welfare; which in emergencies of danger might induce them to use their influence to keep their dependants quiet; but when none are connected with them richer than themselves, the whole party consisting of a poor and half ruined peasantry, and priests almost as poor as themselves, what tie, or what call is there to restrain the dictates of resentment and revenge? At this day the best subjects among the catholics, and many there are very much to be depended on, notwithstanding all their oppressions, are the men of landed property: how impolitick to wish to lessen the number! to be desirous of cutting off two millions of peasantry from every possible connection that can influence their submission. The same observation is applicable to mortgages, and in short to all investments of money within the kingdom. Surely the obedience of a man who has property in the realm is much securer than if all he is worth is in the English or Dutch funds! While property lay exposed to the practices of power, the great body of the people who had been stripped of their all were more enraged than converted: they adhered to the persuasion of their forefathers with the steadiest and most determined zeal; while the priests, actuated by the spirit of a thousand inducements, made proselytes among the common protestants in defiance of every danger. And the great glaring fact yet remains, and is even admitted by the warmest advocates for the laws of discovery that the established religion has not gained upon

upon the catholic in point of numbers, but on the contrary that the latter has been rather on the increase. Public lists have been returned in the several dioceses which confirm this fact; and the intelligence I received on my journey spoke the same language.

As it is the great body of the common people that form the strength of a country when willing subjects, and its weakness when ill-affected, this fact is a decision of the question: after seventy years undisturbed operation, the system adopted in queen Anne's reign has failed in this great aim, and meets at this day with a more numerous and equally determined body of catholics than it had to oppose when first promulgated. Has not the experience of every age, and every nation, proved that the effect is invariable and universal? Let a religion be what it may, and under whatever circumstances, no system of persecution ever yet had any other effect than to confirm its professors in their tenets, and spread their doctrines instead of restraining them. Thus the great plea of the roman catholic priests, and their merit with their congregations are the dangers they hazard, and the persecutions they suffer for the sake of their faith; arguments that ever had and ever will have weight while human nature continues formed of its present materials.

THE question of internal security is decided almost as soon as named: the submission of the catholics is yet felt to be so much constrained that no idea has been formed, that their being trusted with arms is consistent with the safety of the kingdom. Laws founded in the very spirit of persecution, and receiving an edge in their operation from the unlimited power assumed by the protestant landlord, are strangely calculated to

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conciliate the affection, or secure the loyalty of a people. All the emotions of the heart of man revolt at such an idea. It was the opinion of a vast majority of the gentlemen I conversed with on the subject, that no people could be worse affected; all Ireland knows and agrees in the fact, nay, the arguments for a continuation of the laws of discovery are founded on the principle, that the lower classes of the catholics are not to be trusted. Is not this declaring that the disarmed, disgusted multitude, have not lost in their misfortunes the importance of their numbers? The fears of an invasion speak the strength of the oppressed, and the extent of the oppression.

THE disturbances of the white-boys, which lasted ten years in spite of every exertion of legal power, were in many circumstances very remarkable, and in none more so than the surprizing intelligence among the insurgents where ever found: it was universal, and almost instantaneous: the numerous bodies of them, at whatever distance from each other, seemed animated with one soul; and not an instance was known in that long course of time of a single individual betraying the cause; the severest threats, and the most splendid promises of reward had no other effect but to draw closer the bands which connected a multitude, to all appearance so desultory. It was then evident that the iron rod of oppression had been far enough from securing the obedience, or crushing the spirit of the people. And all reflecting men, who consider the value of religious liberty, will wish it never may have that effect; will trust in the wisdom of Almighty God for teaching man to respect even those prejudices of his brethren that are imbibed as sacred rights from their earliest infancy, that by dear bought experience of the
futility

futility and ruin of the attempt, the persecuting spirit may cease, and TOLERATION establish that harmony and security which fourscore years' experience has told us is not to be purchased at the expence of HUMANITY!

BUT if these exertions of a succession of ignorant legislatures have failed continually in propagating the religion of government, or in adding to the internal security of the kingdom, much more have they failed in the great object of national prosperity. The only considerable manufacture in Ireland which carries in all its parts the appearance of industry is the linen, and it ought never to be forgotten that this is solely confined to the protestant parts of the kingdom; yet we may see from the example of France and other countries that there is nothing in the roman catholic religion itself that is incompatible with manufacturing industry. The poor catholics in the south of Ireland spin wool very generally, but the purchasers of their labour, and the whole worsted trade is in the hands of the quakers of Clonmell, Carrick, Bandon, &c. The fact is, the professors of that religion are under such discouragements that they cannot engage in any trade which requires both industry and capital. If they succeed and make a fortune what are they to do with it? They can neither buy land, nor take a mortgage, nor even fine down the rent of a lease. Where is there a people in the world to be found industrious under such a circumstance? But it seems to be the meaning, wish, and intent of the discovery laws, that none of them should ever be rich. It is the principle of that system that wealthy subjects would be nuisances, and therefore every means is taken to reduce, and keep them to a state of poverty. If this is

not

not the intention of the laws they are the most abominable heap of self contradictions that ever were issued in the world. They are framed in such a manner that no catholic shall have the inducement to become rich. But if in spite of these laws he should accidentally gain wealth, that the whole kingdom should not afford him a possibility of investing it. Take the laws and their execution into one view, and this state of the case is so true, that they actually do not seem to be so much levelled at the religion, as at the property that is found in it. By the law a priest is to be transported and hanged for reading mass, but the mass is very readily left to them with impunity. Let the same priest, however, make a fortune by his mass, and from that moment he is the object of persecution. The domineering aristocracy of five hundred thousand protestants feel the sweets of having two millions of slaves; they have not the least objection to the tenets of that religion which keeps them by the law of the land in subjection: but property and slavery are too incompatible to live together. Hence the special care taken that no such thing should arise among them.

I must be free to own, that when I have heard gentlemen who have favoured the laws as they now stand, urge the dangerous tenets of the church of Rome, quote the cruelties which have disgraced that religion in Ireland, and led them into the common routine of declamation on that side the question; (I cannot call it argument, for I never yet heard any thing that deserved the name) when I have been a witness to such conversations, I could not but smile to see subscriptions handed about for building a mass house, at the very time that the heaviest vengeance of the law fully

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executed fell on those who possessed a landed property, or ventured a mortgage upon it.

It is no superficial view I have taken of this matter in Ireland, and being at Dublin at the time a very trifling part of these laws was agitated in parliament, I attended the debates, with my mind open to conviction, and auditor for the mere purpose of information: I have conversed on the subject with some of the most distinguished characters in the kingdom, and I cannot after all but declare that the scope, purport, and aim of the laws of discovery as executed, are not against the catholic religion which increases under them, but against the industry and property of whoever professes that religion. In vain has it been said, that consequence and power follow property, and that the attack is made in order to wound the doctrine through its property. If such was the intention, I reply, that seventy years experience prove the folly and futility of it. Those laws have crushed all the industry, and wrested most of the property from the catholics; but the religion triumphs; it is thought to increase. Those who have handed about calculations to prove a decrease, admit on the face of them that it will require FOUR THOUSAND YEARS to make converts of the whole, supposing that work to go on in future, as it has in the past time. But the whole pretence is an affront to common sense, for it implies that you will lessen a religion by persecuting it: all history and experience condemn such a proposition.

THE system pursued in Ireland has had no other tendency but that of driving out of the kingdom all the personal wealth of the catholics, and prohibiting their industry within it. The face of the country, every object

object in short which presents itself to the eye of a traveller, tells him how effectually this has been done. I urge it not as an argument, the whole kingdom speaks it as a fact. We have seen that this conduct has not converted the people to the religion of government, and instead of adding to the internal security of the realm, it has endangered it; if therefore it does not add to the national prosperity, for what purpose but that of private tyranny could it have been embraced and persisted in? Mistaken ideas of private interest account for the actions of individuals, but what could have influenced the british government to permit a system which must inevitably prevent the island from ever becoming of the importance which nature intended.

RELATIVE to the national welfare it must appear extremely evident to the unprejudiced, that an aristocracy of five hundred thousand protestants, crushing the industry of two millions of poor catholics, can never advance the public interest. Secure the industry of your people, and leave their religion to itself. It is their hands, not their faith, you want; but do not tie these behind them, and then ask why they are not better employed. How is agriculture to flourish, manufactures to be established, or commerce to extend in a dependant country labouring under great disadvantages, if the united capitals, industry, activity and attention of the whole community, be not employed for such purposes? When the territory of an island lies in such a wretched state, that though blessed with a better soil it yields, on comparison with England, as only 8 to 11: when manufactures are of so sickly a growth as to be confined almost to one province, and when trade is known to exist only by the ships of other countries

appear-

appearing in the harbours, while a kingdom is in such a situation, is it wisdom to persist in a system which has no other effect than to clog, defeat, or exterminate the capital and industry of four-fifths of the inhabitants! Surely the gentlemen of that country, when they complain of restricted commerce, and the remittance of the rentals of the absentees to England, cannot be thought serious in lamenting the situation of their country, while they continue wedded to that internal ruin which is the work of their own hands, and the favourite child of their most active exertions. Complain not of restrictions while you yourselves enforce the most enormous restriction; for what are the body of absentees when compared with the absence of industry and wealth from the immense mass of two millions of subjects. I should be well founded in the assertion that both these evils, great and acknowledged as they are, are trifles when compared with the poverty and debility which result from the oppression of the roman catholics. Encourage the industry of those two millions of idle people, and the wealth arising from it, will make ample amends for most of the evils complained of in Ireland. This remedy is in your hands; you have no rivals to fear; no ministers to oppose you.

THINK of the loss to Ireland of so many catholics of small property, resorting to the armies of France, Spain, Sardinia, and Austria, for employment. Can it be imagined, that they would be so ready to leave their own country, if they could stay in it with any prospect of promotion, successful industry, or even liberal protection? It is known they would not; and that under a different system, instead of adding strength

to the enemies of this empire, they would be among the foremost to enrich and defend it.

UPON the general question it has been asserted by the friends of the law, that gentlemen in England are apt very much to mistake the point from being ignorant of Irish popery, which from the ignorance of the people, is more bigoted than any thing known in the sister kingdom; also that the papists in England are not claimants of all the landed property, which is the case in Ireland.

BOTH these observations are too shallow to bear the least examination; oppression has reduced the major part of the Irish catholics to a poor ignorant rabble; you have made them ignorant, and then it is cried your ignorance is a reason for keeping you so; you shall live and remain, and die in ignorance, for you are too wretched to be enlightened. Take it as argument, or humanity, it is of a most precious kind. In all other parts of Europe the catholic religion has grown mild and even tolerant; a softer humanity is seen diffused in those countries, once the most bigoted; Spain and Portugal are no longer what they were. Had property taken its natural course in Ireland, the religion of the catholics there would have improved with that of their neighbours. Ignorance is the child of poverty, and you cannot expect the modern improvements, which have resulted from disseminated industry and wealth, should spread among a sect, whose property you have detached, and whose industry you have crushed: to stigmatize them with ignorance and bigotry, therefore, is to reproach them with the evils which your own conduct has entailed; it is to bury them

them in darkness, and vilify them because they are not enlightened.

BUT they claim your estates ; they do so, as steadily at this moment as they did fourscore years ago ; your system therefore has utterly failed even in this respect. Has the rod of oppression obliterated the memory or tradition of better days ? Has severity conciliated the forgiveness of past, perhaps necessary injuries ? Would protection, favour, and encouragement add fresh stings to their resentments ? None can assert it. Ample experience ought to have convinced you, that the harshness of the law has not annihilated a single claim ; if claims could have restored their estates, they would have regained them before now : but here, as I shewed before, the laws have weakened instead of strengthening the protestant interest ; had a milder system encouraged their industry and property, they would have had something to lose, and would, with an enemy in the land, have thought twice before they joined him ; in such a case whatever they had got would be endangered, and the hope of being reinstated in antient possessions, being distant and hazardous, present advantage might have induced them not only to be quiet, but to have defended the government, under whose humanity they found protection and happiness. Compare such a situation with the present, and then determine whether the system you have persisted in has added a jot to the security of your possessions.

BUT let me ask, if these catholic claims, on the landed property, were not full as strong an argument in the reign of King William as they are at present ? The moment of conflict was then but just decided ; if

ever rancour and danger could arise from them, that certainly was the season of apprehension: but it is curious to observe, that that wise monarch would permit few acts to pass to oppress the catholics. It was not until the reign of Anne, that the great system of oppression was opened: if therefore these laws were unnecessary from the revolution to the death of King William, and the experience of that reign tells us they were, most certainly they cannot be so at present.

THE enlightened spirit of TOLERATION, so well understood and practised in the greatest part of Europe, is making progress every day, save in Ireland alone: while the protestant religion enjoys peace and protection in catholic countries; why should a nation, in all other respects so generous and liberal as the Irish, refuse at home what they receive and enjoy abroad.

As the absurdity of the present system can no longer be doubted, the question is, in what degree it should immediately be changed? Would it be prudent directly to arm, and put upon a level with the rest of the community, so large and necessarily, so disgusted a body of the people? Great sudden changes are rarely prudent; old habits are not immediately laid aside; and the temper of men's minds, nursed in ignorance, should have time to open and expand, that they may clearly comprehend their true interests: for this reason the alteration of the laws should be gradual, rather than by one or two repealing clauses, at once to overthrow the whole. But all things considered, there ought not to be a single session without doing something in so necessary a work. For instance, in one session to give them a power of taking mortgages; in

another

another of purchasing lands; in a third, to repeal the abominable premiums on the division of a family against itself, by restoring to parents their rights; in a fourth, mafs to be rendered legal; in a fifth, a feminary, to be established by law, for the education of priests, and a bishop to be allowed, with those powers which are necessary for the exercise of the religion; by which means the foreign interest from a priesthood, entirely educated abroad, would be at once cut off. Thus far the most zealous friends to the protestant religion could not object upon any well founded principles. When once the operations of the new system had raised a spirit of industry, and attendant wealth among the lower classes of them, no evil consequences would flow from permitting them the use of arms. Give them an interest in the kingdom, and they will use their arms, not to overturn, but to defend it. Upon first principles, it is a miserable government, which acknowledges itself incapable of retaining men to their obedience that have arms in their hands; and such an one as is to be found in Ireland alone. In like manner I should apprehend that it might be proper to give them a voice in the election of members of parliament. There is great reason to believe, that they will not be treated by gentlemen in the country in the manner they ought to be, until this sort of importance is given them.

LET it in general be remembered, that no country in the world has felt any inconveniencies from the most liberal spirit of toleration: that on the contrary, those are universally acknowledged to be the most prosperous, and the most flourishing, which have governed their subjects on the most tolerating principles. That other countries, which have been

actuated by the spirit of bigotry, have continued poor, weak, and helpless: these are circumstances which bear so immediately upon the question, that we may determine, without any hazard of extravagance, that Ireland will never prosper to any great degree until she profits by the example of her neighbours. Let her dismiss her illiberal fears and apprehensions; let her keep pace with the improvement of the age, and with the mild spirit of European manners, let her transfer her anxiety from the faith to the industry of her subjects; let her embrace, cherish, and protect the catholics as good subjects, and they will become such; let her, despising and detesting every species of religious persecution, consider all religions as brethren, employed in one great aim, the wealth, power, and happiness of the general community; let these be the maxims of her policy, and she will no longer complain of poverty and debility, she will be at home prosperous, and abroad formidable.

SECTION VIII.

Price of Provisions.

IN the speculations of modern politicians, so many conclusions have been drawn from the prices of provisions in different countries, and some of them with so much reason, that every one must readily admit a considerable degree of importance to be annexed to such information: with this view, I was as particular in these enquiries as I had been before in my English

PRICE OF PROVISIONS. 149

English journies. The prices are as follow upon an average of the whole journey :

Beef	—	—	—	d. $2\frac{1}{2}$ per lb,
Mutton	—	—	—	$2\frac{3}{4}$
Veal	—	—	—	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Pork	—	—	—	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Butter	—	—	—	$5\frac{3}{4}$
A chicken	—	—	—	$2\frac{1}{2}$
A turkey	—	—	—	$10\frac{3}{4}$
A goose	—	—	—	$8\frac{1}{2}$

In order for a comparison, I shall add the prices of my English tours,

	Butter.	Mutton.	Beef.	Veal.	Pork.
The Southern Tour, 1767,	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{4}$	4	$3\frac{3}{4}$	
The Northern Tour, 1768,	6	3	3	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$
The Eastern Tour, 1770,	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Average of the three,	$6\frac{1}{4}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Ireland in 1776,	$5\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$

Average of the four meats in England, $3\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Ditto in Ireland, — — $2\frac{3}{4}$ d.

Ireland to England as 11 to 14.

I SHOULD remark, that there has been very little variation in the prices of meat in England since the dates of those journies ; the rates in Ireland are higher than I conceived them, and do not from cheapness afford any reason to conclude that country, as far as cattle extends, to be in a state of backwardness. The whole of these minutes, however, concerns the

home consumption only, for as to the immense trade in beef and pork (of which hereafter) their rates are considerably under these, as may be supposed from the greatness of the scale, in like manner as the consumption prices in England are near double those of the victualling office.

POULTRY being so extremely cheap is owing to several causes; *First*, The smallness of the demand; the towns are few, small, and poor; and all gentlemen's families raise a quantity for themselves. *Second*, The plenty of potatoes upon which they are fed, being vastly greater, and dispensed with less economy than the corn in England, upon which poultry is there reared. *Third*, The extreme warmth of the cabins, in which the young broods are nourished. *Fourth*, The natural produce of white clover, which is much greater than in England, and upon the seeds of which, young turkies, in particular, are advantageously fed. I know a gentleman in England, who reared an amazing number of turkies and peachicks the year his lawn was sown with white clover, but the soil being improper it lasted but one year, and he neither before nor after had such success with those broods,

SECTION IX.

Roads—Cars,

FOR a country so very far behind us as Ireland, to have got suddenly so much the start in the article of roads, is a spectacle that cannot fail to strike the English traveller exceedingly. But from this commendation the turnpikes in general must be excluded, they

they are as bad as the bye roads are admirable. It is a common complaint, that the tolls of the turnpikes are so many jobs, and the roads left in a state that disgrace the kingdom.

THE following is the system on which the cross ones are made. Any person wishing to make or mend a road, has it measured by two persons, who swear to the measurement before a justice of the peace. It is described as leading from one market town to another (it matters not in what direction) that it will be a public good, and that it will require such a sum, per perch, of twenty-one feet, to make or repair the same; a certificate to this purpose (of which printed forms are sold) with the blanks filled up, is signed by the measurers, and also by two persons called overseers, one of whom is usually the person applying for the road, the other the labourer he intends to employ as an overseer of the work, who swears also before the justice the truth of the valuation. The certificate, thus prepared, is given by any person to some one of the grand jury, at either of the assizes, but usually in the spring. When all the common business of trials is over, the jury meets on that of roads; the chairman reads the certificates, and they are all put to the vote, whether to be granted or not. If rejected they are torn in pieces and no farther notice taken, if granted they are put on the file.

THIS vote of approbation, without any farther form, enables the person, who applied for the presentment, immediately to construct or repair the road in question, which he must do at his own expence, he must finish it by the following assizes, when he is to send a certificate of his having expended the money

puruant to the application; this certificate is signed by the foreman, who also signs an order on the treasurer of the county to pay him, which is done immediately. In like manner are bridges, houses of correction, gaols, &c. built and repaired. If a bridge over a river, which parts two counties, half is done by one, and the other half by the other county.

THE expence of these works is raised by a tax on the lands, paid by the tenant; in some counties it is acreable, but in others it is on the *plough land*, and as no two plough lands are of the same size, is a very unequal tax. In the county of Meath it is acreable, and amounts to one shilling, being the highest in Ireland; but in general it is from three pence to six pence per acre, and amounts of late years, through the whole kingdom, to one hundred and forty thousand pounds a year.

THE juries will very rarely grant a presentment for a road, which amounts to above fifty pounds, or for more than six or seven shillings a perch, so that if a person wants more to be made than such a sum will do, he divides it into two or three different measurements or presentments, in order that part may be rejected without the whole. By act of parliament all presentment roads must be twenty-one feet wide at least from fence to fence, and fourteen feet of it formed with stone or gravel;

As the power of the grand jury extends in this manner to the cutting new roads, where none ever were before, as well as to the repairing and widening old ones, exclusive, however, of parks, gardens, &c. it was necessary to put a restriction against the
wanton

wanton expence of it. Any presentment may be traversed that is opposed, by denying the allegations of the certificate; this is sure of delaying it until another assizes, and in the mean time persons are appointed to view the line of road demanded, and report on the necessity or hardship of the case. The payment of the money may also be traversed after the certificate of its being laid out; for if any person views, and finds it a manifest imposition and job, he has that power to delay payment until the cause is cleared up and proved. But this traverse is not common. Any persons are eligible for asking presentments; but it is usually done only by resident gentlemen, agents, clergy, or respectable tenantry. It follows necessarily, that every person is desirous of making the roads leading to his own house, and that private interest alone is considered in it, which I have heard objected to the measure; but this I must own appears to me the great merit of it. Whenever individuals act for the public alone, the public is very badly served; but when the pursuit of their own interest is the way to benefit the public, then is the public good sure to be promoted; such is the case of presentment roads; for a few years the good roads were all found leading from houses like rays from a center, with a surrounding space, without any communication; but every year brought the remedy, until in a short time, those rays, pointing from so many centers, met, and then the communication was complete. The original act passed but seventeen years ago, and the effect of it in all parts of the kingdom is so great, that I found it perfectly practicable to travel upon wheels by a map; I will go here, I will go there; I could trace a route upon paper as wild as fancy could dictate, and every where I found beautiful roads without break or hindrance, to enable me

me to realize my design. What a figure would a person make in England, who should attempt to move in that manner, where the roads, as Dr. Burn has very well observed, are almost in as bad a state as in the time of Philip and Mary. In a few years there will not be a bad road, except turnpikes, in all Ireland. The money raised for this first and most important of all national purposes, is expended among the people who pay it, employs themselves and their teams, encourages their agriculture, and facilitates so greatly the improvement of waste lands, that it ought always to be considered as the first step to any undertaking of that sort.

At first, roads in common with bridges, were paid out of the general treasure of the county, but by a subsequent act, the road tax is now on baronies; each barony pays for its own roads. By another act, juries were enabled to grant presentments of narrow mountain roads, at two shillings and six-pence a perch. By another, they were empowered to grant presentments of footpaths, by the side of roads, to one shilling a perch. By a very late act, they are also enabled to contract, at three halfpence per perch per annum, from the first making of a road, for keeping it in repair, which before could not be done without a fresh presentment. Arthur French, Esq; of Moniva, whose agriculture is described in the preceding minutes, and who at that time represented the county of Galway, was the worthy citizen who first brought this excellent measure into parliament: Ireland, and every traveller that ever visits it, ought, to the latest time, to revere the memory of such a distinguished benefactor to the public. Before that time the roads, like those of England, remained impassable, under the miserable police
of

of the six days labour. Similar good effects would here flow from adopting the measure, which would ease the kingdom of a great burthen in its public effect absolutely contemptible; and the tax here, as in Ireland, ought to be so laid, as to be borne by the tenant, whose business it is at present to repair.

UPON the imperfections of the Irish system I have only to remark, that juries should, in some cases, be more ready than they are to grant these presentments. In general, they are extremely liberal, but sometimes they take silly freaks of giving none, or very few. Experience having proved from the general goodness of the roads, that abuses cannot be very great, they should go on with spirit to perfect the great work throughout the kingdom; and as a check upon those who lay out the money, it might perhaps be adviseable to print county maps of the presentment roads, with corresponding lists and tables of the names of all persons who have obtained presentments, the sums they received, and for what roads. These should be given freely by the jurymen, to all their acquaintance, that every man might know, to whose carelessness or jobbing, the public was indebted for bad roads, when they had paid for good ones. Such a practice would certainly deter many.

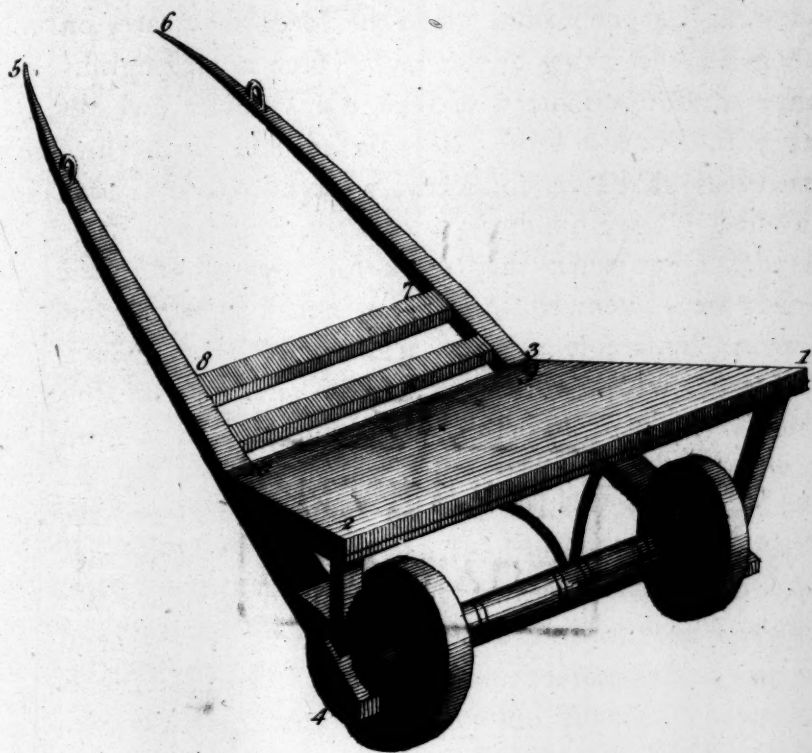
AT 11,42,642 acres in the kingdom, one hundred and forty thousand pounds a year amount to just three-pence an acre for the whole territory, a very trifling tax for such an improvement, and which almost ranks in public ease and benefit with that of the post-office.

It

It is not to this system singly that Ireland is indebted for the goodness of her roads; another circumstance calls materially for observation, which is the vehicle of carriage: all land-carriage in that kingdom is performed with one-horse cars or carts. Those of the poor people are wretched things, formed with a view to cheapness alone; and the loads they carry on them when working by the day are such as an Englishman would be ashamed to take in a wheelbarrow, yet they suffer their horses to walk so slow with these burthens, that I am confident, work of this sort, done by hire, is five hundred per cent. dearer than in England. Even when they work for themselves, their loads are contemptible, and not equal to what their *garrens*, miserable as they are, would draw. Cars, however, which work regularly for mills in carrying flour to Dublin, do better; the common load is from six to ten hundred weight, which, considering the horses, is very well; eighteen hundred weight have been often carried thither from Slaine mills. The lowness of the wheels suits a mountainous country; but if there is truth in the mechanic powers, is in general a great disadvantage to the animal. Great numbers of these cars consist only of a flat bottom over the axle-tree, on which a few sacks, logs, or stones, may be laid, or a little heap of gravel in the center. Others have side-boards, and some baskets fixed. But such an imperfect and miserable machine deserves not a moment's attention; the object of importance arising only from one horse for draught.

SOME gentlemen have carts very well made in respect of strength, but so heavy, as to be almost as faulty as the common car. Others have larger and heavier two-horse

	<i>feet</i>	<i>Inches</i>
1 to 2.....	5	4
1 to 3.....	3	8
4 to 5.....	9	8
5 to 6.....	1	10
7 to 8.....	3	9



An Irish Car.

The Wheels 2 feet diameter.

Upon the surface 1.2.9.10 end and side boards are raised occasionally to contain earth, gravel, lime, &c.



horse carts; and a few have been absurd enough to introduce English waggons. The well-made roads preserving themselves for so many years, is owing to this practice of using one-horse carriages, which is worthy of universal imitation. Notwithstanding the expence bestowed on the turnpikes in England, great numbers of them are in a most wretched state, which will continue while the legislature permits so many horses to be harnessed in one carriage. A proof how little one-horse carriages wear roads, is the method used in Ireland to construct them; they throw up a foundation of earth in the middle of the space from the outsides, on that they immediately form a layer of lime-stone, broken to the size of a turkey's egg; on this a thin scattering of earth to bind the stones together, and over that a coat of gravel, where it is to be had. Their carriages considered, no fault is to be found with this mode, for the road is beautiful and durable, but being all finished at once, with very little or no time for settling, an English waggon would presently cut through the whole, and demolish the road as soon as made, yet it is perfectly durable under cars and coaches.

I have weighed common cars in Ireland, and find the lightest weigh 2 cwt. 2 qrs. 14 lb. good carts for one horse at Mr. O'Neil's, 4 cwt. 2 qrs. 21 lb. and Lord Kingsborough had larger carts from Dublin, with five-foot wheels, which weighed 7C. but these are much too heavy, in the lightness of the machine consists a great part of the merit. A common English waggon with nine-inch wheels from 55 Cwt. to three tons. I built

built a narrow wheel one in Suffolk for four horses, the weight of which was 25 Cwt.

		Cwt.	qrs.	lb.
Every horse in the Irish car draws,				
weight of carriage,	—	2	2	14
In Mr. O'Neil's carts,	—	4	2	21
In Lord Kingborough's,	—	7	0	0
In a broad wheeled waggon,	—	7	1	0
In a narrow ditto,	—	6	1	0

THE extreme lightness of the common car is not to be taken into the question, as it is inapplicable to a profitable load of any thing, except a single block, or sacks. It is absolutely necessary a cart should be capacious enough for a very light but bulky load, such as malt, dust, bran, dry ashes, &c. as well as for hay and straw. The Suffolk waggon for four horses is twelve feet long, four broad, and two deep in the sides and ends, consequently, the body of it contains just 96 cubical feet; the end ladders extended for hay or straw four feet more, and there was a fixed side one, which added two feet to the breadth, consequently the surface on which hay was built, extended just ninety-six square feet. In a great variety of uses, to which I applied that waggon, I found four middling horses, worth about twelve pounds each, would draw a full load of every thing in it; viz. from fifty to sixty hundred weight of hay, twelve quarters of wheat, or fifty-five hundred weight, and the fulage of Bury sheets by computation, judging by the labour of the horses to a much greater weight, perhaps above three tons. I have more than once taken these measures as a guide for a one-horse cart, to give one horse an exact proportion of what four did in that waggon, the dimensions of the cart must be as follow:

low; the body of it must be just four feet long, three feet broad, and two feet deep; the end ladders each one foot, and the side ones six inches. This will be upon a par with the waggon; but I gave the carts the advantage, by end ladders, being each eighteen inches, and the side ones twelve, which made the whole surface thirty-five square feet, four times which is one hundred and forty instead of ninety-six. The weight of these carts complete were from four to five hundred; the wheels five feet high, and the axletree iron, which is essential to a light draft; such carts cost in England, complete and painted, from nine pounds to ten guineas. Whoever tries them will find a horse will draw in them far more than the fourth of the load of a four horse team, or than the eighth of an eight horse one, for he will in a tolerable level country draw a ton.

I have often conversed with the drivers of carriers waggons, as well as with intelligent carters in the service of farmers, and their accounts have united with my own observation, to prove that one horse in eight, and to the amount of half a horse in four, are always absolutely idle, moving on without drawing any weight; a most unremitting attention is necessary even for a partial remedy of this, but with careless drivers the evil is greater; hence, the superiority of horses drawing single, in which mode they cannot fail of performing their share of the work. The expence, trouble and disappointment of an accident, are in proportion to the size of the team; with a broad wheeled waggon and eight horses, they are very great, but with eight carts they are very trifling; if one breaks down, the load and cart are easily distributed among the other seven, and little time lost. When business is

carried

carried on by means of single horse carts, every horse in a stable is employed; but with waggons, he who keeps one, two, or three horses, must stand still; and what is to be done with five, six, or seven? It is only four or eight horses that form an exact team; but the great object is the preservation of the roads; to save these the legislature has prescribed wheels, even sixteen inches broad, but all such machines are so enormously heavy, that they are ruinous to those who use them; besides, they form such exact paths for the following teams to walk in, that the hardest road is presently cut into ruts, the most solid materials ground into dust, and every exertion in repairing baffled as fast as tried. Roads, which are made annually at a vast expence, are found almost impassable from the weights carried in waggons. It may be asserted, without exaggeration, that if there were nothing but one-horse carriages in England, half the present highway expence might be saved, and the roads at the same time incomparably better.

It must be admitted, that the expence of drivers would at first be greater, for a man would not drive above three of them; a man and two boys would do for nine: but why they should not be as well managed here as in Ireland I cannot see; a man there will often drive five, six, or even eight cars. I have myself seen a single girl drive six. Even in this respect there is an advantage which does not attend waggons, a boy could any where manage one or two, but twenty boys would not be trusted to drive a waggon. Granting, however, that the expence under this head was something greater, still is it vastly more than counterbalanced by the superior advantages stated above, which render it an equal object to individuals and the public.

SECTION X.

Timber—Planting.

THROUGH every part of Ireland, in which I have been, one hundred contiguous acres are not to be found without evident signs, that they were once wood, or at least very well wooded. Trees, and the roots of trees of the largest size, are dug up in all the bogs; and in the cultivated countries, the stumps of trees destroyed shew that the destruction has not been of any antient date. A vast number of the Irish names for hills, mountains, vallies and plains, have forests, woods, groves, or trees, for the signification; Lord Kingsborough has an hundred thousand acres about Mitchells town, in which you must take a breathing gallop to find a stick large enough to beat a dog, yet is there not an enclosure without the remnants of trees, many of them large; nor is it a peculiarity to that estate: in a word, the greatest part of the kingdom exhibits a naked, bleak, dreary view for want of wood, which has been destroyed for a century past, with the most thoughtless prodigality, and still continues to be cut and wasted, as if it was not worth the preservation. The Baltic fir supplies all the uses of the kingdom, even those for which nothing is proper but oak; and the distance of all the ports of Ireland from that sea, makes the supply much dearer than it is in England.

In conversation with gentlemen, I found they very generally laid the destruction of timber to the common people; who, they say, have an aversion to a tree; at the earliest age they steal it for a walking-stick; afterwards for a spade handle; later for a car shaft; and later still for a cabbin rafter; that the poor do steal it is certain, but I am clear the gentlemen of the country

may thank themselves. Is it the consumption of sticks and handles that has destroyed millions of acres? Absurdity! The profligate, prodigal, worthless landowner, cuts down his acres, and leaves them unfenced against cattle, and then he has the impudence to charge the scarcity of trees to the walking-sticks of the poor, and goes into the house of commons and votes for an act, which lays a penalty of forty shillings on any poor man having a twig in his possession, which he cannot account for. This act, and twenty more in the same spirit, stands at present a monument of their self-condemnation and oppression. They have made wood so scarce, that the wretched cottars cannot procure enough for their necessary consumption, and then they pass penal laws on their stealing, or even possessing, what it is impossible for them to buy. If by another act you would hang up all the landlords who cut woods without fencing, and destroy trees without planting, you would lay your axe to the root of the evil, and rid the kingdom of some of the greatest pests in it; but in the name of humanity and common sense, let the poor alone, for whose stealing in this, as in most other cases, nobody ought to be answerable but yourselves. I was an eye-witness in various parts of the kingdom, of woods cut down and not copsed. The honestest poor upon earth, if in the same situation as the Irish, would be stealers of wood, for they must either steal or go without what is an absolute necessary of life. Instead of being the destroyers of trees, I am confident they may be made preservers of them; recollect Sir William Osborne's mountaineers, to whom he gave a few Lombardy poplars, they cherished them with as much care as his own gardener could have done. At Mitchelstown, I had opportunities of making observations which convinced me of the same thing; I saw in every respect, indeed all over Ireland, the

the greatest readiness to do whatever would recommend them to their landlord's favour. I had three plans relative to wood, which I have reason to believe would answer in any part of the kingdom: *First*, To give premiums to the cottars who planted and preserved trees, and not to let it depend on the premium alone, but to keep a list of those who appeared as candidates, and upon every other occasion to let them be objects of favour. *Second*, To force all the tenantry to plant under the following clause in their leases:

"And also, that the said A. B. his heirs and assigns, shall and will, every year, during the continuance of this demise, well and truly plant, and thoroughly secure until the end of the said term, from all injury or damage by cattle, or otherwise, one timber tree for every acres that are contained in the herein demised premises, provided that such trees shall be supplied gratis, on demand, by the said C. D. his heirs and assigns; and in case any trees shall die or fail, that in such case the said A. B. shall and will plant in the year next after such death or failure, an equal number of timber trees in the said demised premises, in the place or stead of such trees or trees so dying or failing as aforesaid; and in case, at the expiration of the said demise, the proper number of trees, of a due age, according to the meaning and intent of these premises, be not left growing and standing upon the said demised premises, or some part thereof, that then the said A. B. his heirs or assigns, shall forfeit and pay unto the said C. D. his heirs and assigns, the sum of five shillings for every tree so deficient by death, failure, injury, or negligence."

THE proportion of acres per tree to be according to circumstances. It should always be remembered, that the clauses of a lease rarely execute themselves; it is

the landlord's, or his agent's attention that must make them efficient. A tenantry every where is very much dependant, unless leases for lives are given, but I suppose them for twenty-one years. In Ireland their poverty makes this dependance still greater. They ask time for the payment of their rent; they run in arrears; they are threatened or driven; if they pay well, still they have some favour to ask, or expect; in a word, they are in such a situation, that *attention* would secure the most entire compliance with such a clause. If once, or twice, upon an estate, a man was drove for his rent, who neglected the trees, while another in the same circumstances had time given him because he preserved them, the effect would presently be seen. *Third*, To have a magazine of sticks, spade handles, pieces for cars, cabbins, &c. laid in at the cheapest rate, and kept for selling at prime cost to whoever would buy them. These would want to be purchased but for a few years, as small plantations of the timber willow would in four years furnish an ample supply.

THAT these three circumstances united, would presently plant a country I am convinced; I saw a willingness among Lord Kingsborough's little tenants to do it, some even who made a beginning the very first year; and hundreds assured me of their most assiduous compliance. Such a plan most certainly should not preclude large annual plantations on the land which a gentleman keeps in hand; but the beauty of the country depends on trees, scattered over the whole face of it. What a figure would Ireland make on a comparison with its present state, if one tree now stood by each cabin! but it is the spirit of the Irish nation to attempt every thing by laws, and then leave those laws to execute themselves, which indeed with many
of

of them is not at all amiss. It is by no means clear, whether the act which gives to the tenant a property in the trees he plants, to be ascertained by a jury at the end of the lease, and paid by the landlord, has any great tendency to encrease the quantity of wood. It has unfortunately raised an undecided question of law, whether the act extends to trees, which were originally furnished from the landlord's nursery, or planted in consequence of a clause in a lease. If it should so interfere with such plantations, it would be highly mischievous: also, for a man to be forced either to buy or to sell his property, at the price fixed by a jury, is a harsh circumstance. To this cause it is probably owing, that the plantations made in consequence of that act, are perfectly insignificant.

I have made many very minute calculations of the expence, growth, and value of plantations in Ireland, and am convinced from them that there is no application of the best land in that kingdom will equal the profit of planting the worst in it. A regard for the interest of posterity call for the oak and other trees which require more than an age to come to maturity, but with other views the quick growing ones are for profit much superior; these come to perfection so speedily that three fourths of the landlords of the kingdom might expect to cut where they planted, and reap those great profits, which most certainly attend it. There are timber willows (sallies as they are called in Ireland) which rise with incredible rapidity. I have measured them at Mr. Bolton's, near Waterford, twenty-one feet high in the third year from the planting, and as strait as a larch. With this willow, woods would arise as it were by enchantment, and all sorts of farm offices and cabbins might be built of it in seven

M 3

years

years from planting. Is it not inexcusable to complain of a want of wood when it is to be had with so much ease? Larch and beech thrive wonderfully wherever I have seen them planted; the Lombardy poplar makes the same luxuriant shoots for which it is famous in England; and though a soft wood, yet it is applicable to such a multiplicity of purposes, and so easily propagated that it deserves the greatest attention.

As to oak they are always planted in Ireland from a nursery, I have seen very handsome trees as old as fifteen years, some perhaps older, but even at that age they run incomparably more into head than plants in England which have never been transplanted. It is a great misfortune that a century at least is necessary to prove the mischief of the practice: We know by most ample experience that the noble oaks in England applicable to the use of the large ships of war, were all *sown* where they remained. That tree pushes its tap root so powerfully that I have the greatest reason to believe the future growth suffers essentially from its being injured, and I defy the most skilful nurseryman to take them up upon a large scale without breaking, if it is broke in the part where it is an almost imperceptible thread, it is just the same as cutting it off in a larger part, the steady perpendicular power is lost, and the surface roots must feed the plant, these may do for a certain growth, and to a certain period, but the tree will never become the sovereign of the forest, or the waves. I know several plantations of *sown* oak in England from twelve to thirty, and some forty years growth, which are truly beautiful, and infinitely beyond any thing I have seen in Ireland.

THE woods yet remaining in that kingdom are what in England would be called *copses*. They are
cut

cut down at various growths, some being permitted to stand forty years. Attentive landlords fence when they cut to preserve the future shoots, others do not. But this is by no means the system with a view to which I recommend planting; timber of any kind cut at such will pay double and treble what the shoots from any stubs in the world will do. They may come to a tolerable size, and yield a large value; but the profit is not to be compared with the other. To explain this, permit me one or two remarks.

If willow, poplars, ash, &c. are planted for timber to be cut at whatever age, ten, twenty or thirty years; when cut the stools will throw out many shoots, but let it not be imagined that these shoots will ever again become timber; they will never be any thing but copse wood, and attended in future with no more than the copse profit, which is not half that of timber, in such a case the land should be new planted, and the old stools either grubbed up for fuel, or else the growth from them cut very often for faggots till the new timber gets up enough to drip on and destroy it. The common practice in Ireland is cutting young trees down when they do not shoot well, this is converting timber to copse wood; attention to cutting off all the shoots but one will train up a stem, but I question whether it will ever make a capital tree: if the other shoots are not annually cut it will never be any tree at all; and yet it is certainly a fact that the new shoot is much finer than the old one, which perhaps would have come to nothing; but better remove it entirely than depend on new shoots for making timber. The gentlemen in that kingdom are much too apt to think they have got timber, when in fact they have nothing but fine large copse wood. A

strong proof of this is the great double ditches made thirty or forty years ago, and planted with double rows of trees, generally ash, these for two reasons are usually (for the age) not half so good as trees of the same growth in England; one is, many of them were cut when young, and arose from stools; the other, their growing out of a high dry bank, full of the roots of four rows of white thorn or apple quick, besides those of the trees themselves. It is a fact that I never saw a single capital tree growing on these banks: all hedge trees are difficult to preserve, and therefore must have been cut when young. Ash in England growing from a level are generally worth in forty years, from forty shillings to three pounds. And I know many trees from fifty to sixty years growth that would sell readily at from four to eight pounds, yet the price in Ireland is higher. Another practice which is common in that kingdom is pruning timber trees, and even oaks. I was petrified at seeing oaks of ten and fifteen feet high with all the side shoots cut off. There are treatises upon planting which recommend this practice as well as cutting down young trees to make the better timber. There are no follies which are not countenanced, and even prescribed in some book or other, but unhappy is it for a kingdom when they are listened to. Burn your books, and attend to nature; come to England and view our oak, our ash, and our beech all self sown, and never cursed with the exertions of art. Shew me such trees from the hands of nursery-men and pruners before you waste your breath with shallow reasoning to prove that the most common of the operations of nature must be assisted by the axe or pruning hook*.

ONE

* Since the first edition of these papers were printed, a carpenter who lives on this estate has shewn me several instances of large

ONE reason why both fences and trees in Ireland which have once been made are now neglected and in ruin, is owing to the first planting being all that is thought of; the hedges are suffered to grow for thirty or forty years without cutting; the consequence of which is their being ragged, and open at bottom, and full of gaps whole perches long. But all fences should be cut periodically, for the same reason that trees ought never to be touched, their pushing out many shoots, for every one that is taken off; this should be repeated every fifteen years; a proper portion of the thorns should be plashed down to form an impenetrable live hedge, and the rest cut off, and made into faggots. But in the Irish way the fences yield no fuel at all. To permit a hedge to grow too long without cutting, not only ruins it for a fence, but spoils the trees that are planted with it.

LASTLY, let me observe, that the amazing neglect in not planting other grounds for making baskets and small hoops, is unpardonable throughout the kingdom, they no where thrive better; a small one I planted in the county of Corke grew six feet the first year: at that port there is a considerable importation of them from Portugal.

large oak trees, which he has cut up, expecting to find fine timber, but in the bodies of them found a variety of rotten knots grown over with sound wood, the places where arms were many years ago cut off. Some of the boards for curiosity I bought of him; he is a very sensible attentive man, and has in more than forty years experience made the observation, under such a variety of circumstances, that he often wishes (to use his own language) the men who *prime* trees—at the devil.—I entirely agree with him.

S E C T I O N XI.

Manures—Waste Lands.

THE manure commonly used in Ireland is lime; inexhaustible quarries of the finest lime-stone are found in most parts of the island, with either turf, or culm at a moderate price to burn it. To do the gentlemen of that country justice, they understand this branch of husbandry very well, and practice it with uncommon spirit. Their kilns are the best I have any where seen, and great numbers are kept burning the whole year through, without a thought of stopping on account of the winter. Their draw kilns burn up to forty barrels a day; and what they call French kilns, which burn the stone without breaking, have been made even to five thousand barrels in a kiln. Mr. Leslie laying ten thousand barrels on his land in one year, and Mr. Aldworth as much, are instances which I never heard equalled. Upon an average of the tour 100 barrels are laid upon an acre at the medium price of nine pence.

THAT quantity is upon the whole considerable. The price shews the plenty of this manure in Ireland. To find any place (which is the case) where it can be burnt for three-pence and four-pence is truly wonderful, but can only be from the union of turf and lime-stone.

I no where heard of any land that had been over limed, or on which the repetition of it had proved so disadvantageous as it has sometimes been found in England*.

* See a letter from the late Earl of Holderness to me, inserted in the second edition of the NORTHERN TOUR.

LIME-STONE gravel is a manure peculiar to Ireland, and is most excellent. It is a blue gravel, mixed with stones as large as a man's fist, and sometimes with a clay loam; but the whole mass has a very strong effervescence with acid. On uncultivated lands it has the same wonderful effect as lime, and on clay arable, a much greater; but it is beneficial to all soils. In the isle of Anglesea, a country which much resembles Ireland, there is a gravel like it, which has also some effervescence; but I never met with it in any other part of England.

MARLE in Ireland is not so common as these manures. That which is ofteneft found is white, and remarkably light; it lies generally under bogs. Shell marle is dredged up in the Shannon, and in the harbour of Waterford.

In the catalogue of manures, I wish I could add the composts formed in well littered farm yards, but there is not any part of husbandry in the kingdom more neglected than this; indeed I have scarcely any where seen in the occupation of farmers the least vestige of such a convenience as a yard surrounded with offices for the winter shelter, and feeding of cattle. All sorts of animals range about the field in winter, by which means the quantity of dung raised is contemptible. To dwell upon a point of such acknowledged importance is needless. Time it is to be hoped will introduce a better system.

WASTE LANDS.

ALTHOUGH the proportion of waste territory is not, I apprehend, so great in Ireland as it is in England, certainly owing to the rights of commonage in the lat-

ter country which fortunately have no existence in Ireland; yet are the tracts of desert mountains and bogs very considerable. Upon these lands is to be practiced the most profitable husbandry in the king's dominions; for so I am persuaded the improvement of mountain land to be. By that expression is not to be understood only very high lands, all wastes in Ireland that are not bog they call *mountain*; so that you hear of land under that denomination where even a hillock is not to be seen. The largest tracts, however, are adjoining to real mountains, especially where they slope off to a large extent gradually to the south. Of this sort, Lord Kingsborough has a very extensive and most unprofitable range. In examining it, with many other mountains, and in about five months experience of the beginning only of an improvement under my direction there, I had an opportunity of ascertaining a few points which made me better acquainted with the practicability of those undertakings, than if I had only passed as a traveller through the kingdom. By stating a few of the circumstances of this attempt, others who have mountains under similar circumstances may judge of the propriety of improving. The land has a very gentle declivity from the Galty mountains towards the south, and to a new road Lord Kingsborough made leading from Mitcheltown towards Cahir, which road he very wisely judged was the first step to the melioration of the waste parts of his estate, as well as a great public benefit. To the south side of this road lime-stone is found, and on the north side, the improvement was begun in a spot that included some tolerable good land, some exceeding rough and stoney, and a wet bottom where there was a bog two, three, and four feet deep; the land yielded no other profit than being a commonage to the adjoining farm, in which way it might pay

pay the rent possibly of a shilling an acre: twenty thousand acres by estimation joined it in the same situation which did not yield the fourth of that rent. In June I built a lime-kiln which burnt twenty barrels a day; and cut, led, and stacked turf enough to keep it burning a whole twelvemonth; sketched the fences of four inclosures, making thirty-four acres, and finished the first work of them, leaving the rest, and planting till winter*. I cleared two inclosures of stones; pared and burnt them; burnt eight hundred barrels of lime, limed one inclosure, and sowed one-third with wheat, a third with rye, and the other with bere, as an experiment; the other field with turnips, which from the continual drought, failed. Two cabbins were built; and the whole expence in five months, including the price of all ploughing and carriage, (the latter from the miserable cars and *garrens* at a most extravagant rate) buying timber, steward's wages, &c. amounted to one hundred and fifty pounds. The moment the neighbours understood the works were at an end, some of them offered me ten shillings an acre for the land to take it as it was, which is just eleven per cent. for the money, but I could have got more. The following were the only data gained: lime burnt for five-pence a barrel. Paring with the graffan in

* Where fences must be done by the day and not the perch, which will generally be the case in the beginning of an improvement in a very wild country, from the labourers being totally ignorant of taking work by measure; all that is possible should be executed in summer, especially in so wet a climate as Ireland; and when no more is paid for a day in July than in December. Some of my banks fell with the autumn rains, owing to two causes; first, the men, instead of knowing how to make a ditch were mountaineers, who scarcely knew the right end of a spade; and secondly, it proved the driest season that ever was known in Ireland.

stone

stoney land, 30s. to 40s. an acre, and done by the plough at eight shillings much better; burning and spreading the ashes depend on weather, one piece cost above twenty shillings an acre, the other not five, but on an average I should calculate it at ten shillings. The whole operation may be very well done with the plough at twenty shillings. Clearing from stones and carting away, various; I found a very stoney piece could be cleared at twelve shillings an acre. A single ditch seven feet broad, and from three to five deep, the bank nine feet high from the bottom of the ditch, cost one shilling and six-pence; but this expence would have lessened when they were more accustomed to it: consequently a double fence, with a space between left for planting, three shillings.

My design was to purchase a flock of mountain sheep in the following spring, and keep them through the summer in the mountains, but folding them every night in the improvement, in which work I could have instructed the people, and when once they had seen the benefit, I do not think the practice would ever have been lost. To have provided plenty of turnips for their winter support, and improved the breed by giving them some better rups, but to have done this gradually in proportion as their food improved. Turnips to be for some years the only crop, except small pieces by way of trial. To have laid down the land to grass after a proper course of turnips in the manner and with the seeds I practised in Hartfordshire, which would have shewn what that operation is. There is not a complete meadow in the whole country. To have proportioned the sheep to the turnips at the rate of from twenty to thirty an acre, according to the goodness of the crop. There is a power in such waste

tracts

tracts of keeping any number in summer; the common people keep them all the year on the mountains. The annual product of the improved land is in this system very easily ascertained. Suppose only twenty * sheep per acre, and no more than fifteen lambs from them, worth two shillings and six-pence each, it is thirty-seven shillings and six-pence, and the twenty fleeces at one shilling make fifty-seven shillings and six-pence: about three pound therefore may be reckoned the lowest value of an acre of turnips at first; but as successive crops on the same land improve greatly, they would winter more than twenty, and both lambs and wool be more valuable, so that from a variety of circumstances I have attended to in that country, I am clear the common value of the turnips might be carried to four pounds, and in the course of a few years perhaps to five pounds an acre. And to state the expence of such an improvement completely finished at ten pounds an acre, including every article whatever; three crops of turnips amply repay the whole, and the future produce or rent of the land, neat profit. This would be twenty shillings an acre; twenty-five shillings are commonly paid for much worse land. The real fact of such improvements is a landlord's accepting an estate gratis, or at least paying nothing but trouble for it. Nearly such conclusions must be drawn from Lord Altamont's mountain works, of which an account is given in the minutes. I should remark that the people I employed, though as ignorant as any in the kingdom, and had never seen a turnip hoe, hoed the turnips when I shewed them the manner, very readily, and though not skilfully, well enough to

* It is to be noted that stock sheep are only *baited*, and that chiefly in bad weather. The winters in Ireland are much milder than in England.

prove

prove their docility would not be wanting; it was the same with the paring mattock and the Norfolk turnip sower. They very readily execute orders, and seem to give their inclination to it.

THERE are several reasons which make these improvements more profitable and easy in Ireland than they are in England. There are no common rights to encounter, which are the curse of our moors. Buildings, which in England form one of the heaviest articles, are but a trifling expence; make the land good, and you will let it readily without any at all; or at least with an allowance of a roof towards a cabin; and lastly, the proportionate value of improved land, compared with that of unimproved, is much higher than it is with us, owing to the want of capital rendering all improvements so rare, and to the common people so difficult. Three hundred pounds a year steadily employed in such a work, would in a few years create an estate sufficient for the greatest undertakings: but success depends on a regular unbroken exertion, a point I found very few persons in Ireland thoroughly understood, owing to their not being accustomed to large flocks of sheep regularly depending on turnips. At the same time that this work was carrying on, his Lordship, by my advice, encouraged the peasantry themselves to take in small parts of these mountains. The adjoining farms being out of lease, he had a power of doing what he pleased; I marked a road, and assigned portions of the waste on each side to such as were willing to form the fences in the manner prescribed, to cultivate and inhabit the land, allowing each a guinea towards his cabin, and promising the best land rent free for three years, and the worst for five; the eagerness with which the poor people

came

came into this scheme, convinced me that they wanted nothing but a little encouragement to enter with all their might and spirit into the great work of improvement. They trusted to my assurance enough to go to work upon the ditches, and actually made a considerable progress. In all undertakings of this sort in Ireland it is the poor cottars, and the very little farmers, who are the best tools to employ, and the best tenants to let the land to; but this circumstance raises many enemies to the work; the better sort who have been used to tread upon and oppress are ill pleased to see any importance or independancy given to them: and the whole race of jobbing gentlemen, whose conversation for ever takes the turn of ridiculing the poverty of the cottar tenants, will always be ready with an equal cargo of falshood and ignorance, to decry and depreciate any undertaking which is not to conduce to their own benefit: if a landiord does not steadily resolve to laugh at all this trash, he had better never think of improvements.

TRIFLING as these have been on the Irish mountains, yet are the bogs still more neglected. The minutes of the journey shew that a few gentlemen have executed very meritorious works even in these, but as they, unfortunately for the public, do not live upon any of the very extensive bogs, the inhabitants near the latter deny the application of their remarks. Bogs are of two sorts, black and red. The black bog is generally very good, it is solid almost to the surface, yields many ashes in burning, and generally admitted to be improveable, though at a heavy expence. The red sort has usually a reddish substance, five or six feet deep from the surface, which holds water like a sponge,

yields no ashes in burning, and is supposed to be utterly irreclaimable.

In the variety of theories which have been started to account for the formation of bogs, difficulties occur which are not easily solved: yet are there many circumstances which assist in tracing the cause. Various sorts of trees, some of them of a great size, are very generally found in them, and usually at the bottom, oak, fir, and yew the most common; the roots of these trees are fast in the earth; some of the trees seem broken off, others appear to be cut, but more with the marks of fire on them. Under some bogs of a considerable depth there are yet to be seen the furrows of land once ploughed. The black bog is a solid weighty mass, which cuts almost like butter, and upon examination appears to resemble rotten wood. Under the red bogs there is always a stratum, if not equally solid with the black bog, nearly so, and makes as good fuel. There is upon the black as well as the red ones a surface of that spongy vegetable mass which is cleared away to get at the bog for fuel, but it is shallow on these. Sound trees are found equally in both sorts. Both differ extremely from the bogs I have seen in England in the inequality of the surface; the Irish ones are rarely level, but rise into hills. I have seen one in Donnegal which is a perfect scenery of hill and dale. The spontaneous growth most common is heath; with some bog myrtle, rushes, and a little sedgy grass. As far as I can judge by roads, laying gravel of any sort, clay, earth, &c. improves the bog, and brings good grass. The depth of them is various, they have been fathomed to that of fifty feet, and some are said to be still deeper.

FROM

From these circumstances it appears, that a forest cut, burnt, or broken down, is probably the origin of a bog. In all countries where wood is so common as to be a weed, it is destroyed by burning; it is so around the Baltick, and in America at present. The native Irish might cut and burn their woods enough for the tree to fall, and in the interim between such an operation and successive culture, wars and other intestine divisions might prevent it in those spots, which so neglected afterwards became bogs. Trees lying very thick on the ground would become an impediment to all streams and currents, and gathering in their branches, whatever rubbish such waters brought with them, form a mass of a substance which time might putrefy, and give that acid quality to, which would preserve some of the trunks though not the branches of the trees. The circumstance of red bogs being black and solid at the bottom, would seem to indicate that a black bog has received less accession from the growth and putrefaction of vegetables after the formation than the red ones, which from some circumstances of soil or water might yield a more luxuriant surface vegetation, till it produced that mass of sponge which is now found on the surface. That this supposition is quite satisfactory I cannot assert, but the effect appears to be at least possible, and accounts for the distinction between the two kinds. That they receive their form and increase from a constant vegetation appears from their rising into hills, if they did not vegetate the quantity of water they contain would keep them on a level. The places where the traces of ploughing are found, I should suppose were once fields adjoining to the woods, and when the bog rose to a certain height it flowed gradually over the surrounding land.

BUT the means of improving them is the most important consideration at present. Various methods have been prescribed, and some small improvements have been effected by a few gentlemen, but at so large an expence that it is a question how far their operations answered. Here, therefore, one must call in theory to our aid from a deficiency of practice. Fortunately for a bog improver, drains are cut at so small an expence, in them, that that necessary work is done at a very moderate cost. But in spongy ones it must be repeated annually, according to the substance of the bog, and no other work attended to but sinking the drains lower and lower, by no means till you come to the bottom, (the necessity of which is an error) but till the spaces between them will bear an ox in boots. Then the surface should be levelled and burnt; and I would advise nothing to be done for a year or two but rollers as heavy as might be, kept repeatedly going over it, in order to press and consolidate the surface. Before any thing else was attempted, I would see the effect of this; probably the draining and rolling would bring up a fresh surface of vegetables not seen before; in that case I should have very few doubts of finishing the work with the feeding, treading, and fold of sheep, which would encourage the white clover and grasses to vegetate strongly; fortunately for any operation with sheep they can be kept safely, as they never rot in a drained bog. A very ingenious friend of mine thinks the whole might be done with sheep with little or no draining, but from viewing the bogs I am clear that is impossible. During the time of rolling and sheep feeding, the drains I would have kept clean and open, the labour of which would regularly be less and less. When the surface was so hard as to bear cars, marle, clay, gravel, or earth, might be carried on according to

to

to distance, which with the sheep feeding would convert it into good meadow. But as carting in a large improvement would probably be too expensive; I should think it worth while to try the experiment whether it would not be practicable to sink a shaft through the bog into the gravel or earth beneath it, boarding or walling, and plaistering with terrass or cement, in order to be able to draw up the under stratum, as all the chalk in Hartfordshire is raised, that is, wound up in buckets; chalk is so raised and wheeled on to the land for the price of eight-pence the load of twenty bushels, and is found a cheap improvement at that price, yet the chalk drawers, as they call themselves, earn two shillings and two and six-pence each day. Whatever the means used, certain it is that no meadows are equal to those gained by improving a bog; they are of a value which scarcely any other lands rise to: in Ireland I should suppose it would not fall short of forty shillings an acre, and rise in many cases to three pounds.

SECTION XII.

Cattle—Wool—Winter Food.

THE cattle in Ireland are much better than the tillage; in the management of the arable ground the Irish are five centuries behind the best cultivated of the English counties, but the moisture of the climate, and the richness of the soil, have reared, assisted with importations from England, a breed of cattle and sheep, though not equal to ours, yet not so many degrees below them as might be expected from other circumstances. The price and profit of fattening bullocks and cows are,

	l.	s.	d.
Price of a bullock	6	0	0
Profit on fattening ditto	3	7	6
Price of a cow	3	16	0
Profit on fattening ditto	1	16	6

THE system pursued in fattening these beasts is explained fully in the minutes of the journey. I think the profit remarkably small. The exportation of beef, and its prices, will be given under the article *Trade*, as it forms a principal branch of the commerce of Ireland.

Places.	Fleece.	Profit.
	lb. qrs.	s. d.
Averages of the Tour through } the North of England,	5	10 0
Ditto East of England,	5 2	11 8
Average of England,	5 1	10 10
Average of Ireland,	5	11 0
Average fleece of wool	-	5 lb.
Year's profit on a sheep	-	11 s.

FROM hence the remark I often made in Ireland is confirmed, that their sheep are on an average better than those in England; the weight of the fleece is nearly equal to it, and profit rather higher, notwithstanding mutton is dearer in England; this is owing to the price of wool being so much higher in Ireland than it is with us. The following table will shew the price of it for fourteen years in both kingdoms.

WOOL IN THE FLEECE, Ireland.		WOOL IN THE FLEECE, Lincolnshire.	
Per stone 16 lb.		Tod reduced to stone of 16 lb.	
s.	d.	s.	d.
In the year 1764	11 0	In the year 1764	11 4
1765	10 0	1765	11 4
1766	11 0	1766	12 0
		WOOL	

WOOL IN THE FLEECE,
Ireland.

	<i>Per stone</i> 16 lb.	
	s.	d.
In the year 1767	13	0
1768	13	6
1769	13	6
1770	14	0
1771	14	0
1772*	0	0
1773*	0	0
1774	14	0
1775	16	0
1776	16	6
1777§	17	6
1778	0	0
1779	0	0

Average, — 13 8

WOOL IN THE FLEECE.
Lincolnshire.

	<i>Now reduced</i> <i>to stone of</i> 16 lb.	
	s.	d.
In the year 1767	10	8
1768	8	0
1769	8	0
1770	8	3
1771	8	0
1772	8	3
1773	8	4
1774	9	0
1775	9	6
1776	10	0
1777	9	9
1778	8	0
1779	6	9

Average, — 9 3

47 per cent. higher in Ireland than in England.

FROM hence it appears, that wool has been amazingly higher in Ireland, which accounts for the superiority in the profit of sheep. There are several reasons for the height of price, but the principal are a decrease in the quantity produced, and at the same time an encrease in the consumption. The bounty on the inland carriage of corn, as I shall shew hereafter, has occasioned the ploughing up great tracts of sheep walk; and at the same time the poor people have improved in their cloathing very much: these reasons are fully sufficient to account for that rise in the price of wool, which has brought it to higher than the English rate. There is, however, another very power-

* UNSETTLED but very high.

§ Communicated by

Mr. Joshua Pine in the woollen trade, Dublin.

|| Commu-

nicated by Mr. James Oaks in the woollen trade, Bury, Suffolk.

ful reason, which has had a constant operation, and which is the cheapness of spinning; in Ireland this is two pence halfpenny and three pence, but in England five pence and six pence. Great quantities are therefore spun into yarn in Ireland, and in that state exported to England, for the price of the labour is so low, that a yarn manufacturer can afford to give a much higher price for wool than an English one, and yet sell the yarn itself, after the expence of freight is added, as cheap as English yarn. The quantities of yarn, &c. exported, will be seen hereafter.

MANY gentlemen have made very spirited attempts in improving cattle and sheep in Ireland, so that the mixture of the English breed of cattle has spread all over the kingdom; English sheep are also extending. The minutes of the journey shew that the size of the bullocks is much encreased in the last twenty years.

BUT profitable as sheep are in Ireland, they are not near so as they might be, if turnips were properly attended to; and the reason why oxen and cows yield still less is the same deficiency. The mildness of the climate enables the stock-master to do with but little winter food, and this natural advantage proves an artificial evil, for it prevents those exertions, which the farmers in other countries are obliged to make, in order to support their flocks and herds. Mild as the Irish climate is, the graziers in Tipperary, that is in the south of the kingdom, find nothing more profitable than turnips, though hoeing them is quite unknown; and by means of that root, so very imperfectly managed, supply Dublin with mutton in the spring, to their very great emolument. But the want of
winter

winter food is more apparent in black cattle, which upon such very rich land, ought to rise to a size which is scarcely ever met with in Ireland, the usual weight being from four to eight hundred; but from four hundred and a half to five and six hundred weight, the common size on the rich grounds of Limerick; such land in England is covered with herds that weigh from ten to fifteen hundred weight each; this vast difference is owing to their being reared the two first winters with such a deficiency of food, that their growth is stunted, so that when they come upon the fine bullock land, they are of a size which can never be fattened to the weight of English oxen. The deficiency in turnips, &c. renders hay very valuable in Ireland, which occasions its being given sparingly to cattle; but if they had, while young, as many turnips as they could eat in addition to their present quantity of hay, and were protected in warm yards against the wind and rain, they would rise to a size unknown at present in that kingdom. Upon this and a variety of other accounts, there is scarcely any object in its agriculture of so much importance as the introduction of that plant under the right cultivation.

S E C T I O N. XIII.

Tythes—Church Lands.

OUR sister kingdom labours under this heavy burthen as well as her neighbours, to which is very much owing the uncultivated state of so great a part of her territory. The averages of the journey are,

Wheat,

			l. s. d.
Wheat,	—	—	0 6 9
Barley,	—	—	0 5 4
Oats,	—	—	0 3 8
Beer,	—	—	0 5 11
Potatoes,	—	—	0 7 2
Mowing,	—	—	0 3 3
Sheep,	—	—	0 0 2 ³ / ₄

	Wheat.	Barley.	Oats.	Hay.
Average of the Tour through the North of England, }	5 2	3 11	3 4	1 10
Eastern ditto, —	4 8	4 0	2 8	
Average, —	4 11	3 11 ¹ / ₂	3 0	1 10
Ireland, per English acre,	4 2 ¹ / ₂	3 4	2 3 ¹ / ₂	2 0

HERE does not arise any proof that tythes in Ireland are unreasonably rated; but that there are abuses in the modes of levying them is undoubted; the greatest that I heard of were the notes and bonds taken in some parts of the kingdom by the proctors for the payment, which bear interest, and which are sometimes continued for several years, principal and interest being consolidated until the sum becomes too great for the poor man to pay, when great extortions are complained of, and formed the grievance which seemed most to raise the resentment of the rioters, called Whiteboys. The great power of the protestant gentlemen render their compositions very light, while the poor catholic is made in too many cases to pay severely for the deficiencies of his betters. This is a great abuse, but not to be remedied till the whole kingdom is animated with a different spirit.

THE

THE house of commons some years ago passed a vote, declaring every lawyer an enemy to his country, who in any way whatever was concerned in any case of tythe for fat bullocks and cows; and without its becoming a law was so completely obeyed, that it has regulated the business ever since; it was certainly a reproach to that parliament, that potatoes and turf were not the object; for if any thing called for so violent an exemption, it was certainly the potatoe garden and fuel of the poor cottar.

No object in both the kingdoms can well be of greater importance than a fixed composition for tythe. It is a mode of payment so disagreeable in every respect to the clergy, and so ruinous to the laity, that a general public improvement would follow such a measure. In Ireland there can be no doubt but the recompence should be land, were it for no other reason but having in every parish a glebe sufficient for the ample and agreeable residence of a rector. Force by express penalties by law, the residence of the clergy, after which extend that most excellent act of parliament, which enables any bishop to expend in a palace, offices, or domain wall, two years revenue of the see, with a power of charging, by his last will, his successor with the payment of the whole of the sum to whatever uses he leaves it, who in like manner is enabled to charge his successor with three fourths, and so on; this law should be extended to parsonage houses, with this assistance, that wherever the rector or vicar proved the expenditure of two years revenue in a house, he should receive a permit from the grand jury, for expending half as much more for offices, walling, &c. and when in like manner he brought his certificate of so doing, the money to be paid

paid him by the county treasurer in like manner as the presentment roads are done at present, not however to leave it at the option of the jury. A resident clergy spending in their parishes the whole of their receipts, would in all respects be so advantageous and desirable, that it is fair the county should assist in enabling them to do it in a liberal manner. The expence would be gradual, and never amount very high, if churches, when greatly wanted, were built at the same time. If the expence was for a time considerable, still it would be laid out in a manner amply to repay it. Decent edifices rising in all parts of the kingdom, would alone, in the great business of civilization, be advantageous; it would ornament the country, as well as humanize minds, accustomed to nothing better than cabbins of mud; securing one resident gentleman of some learning and ideas in every parish of the kingdom, living on a property in which he had an interest for life, could scarcely fail of introducing improvements in agriculture and planting; the whole county would profit by such circumstances, and ought to assist in the expence. I must observe, however, that such plans should depend entirely on the clergy accepting a perpetual recompence in lieu of tythes; for as to a public expence, to introduce resident rectors, whose business, when fixed, would be an extension and severity in that tax, and prove a premium on taking them in kind to the ruin of agriculture, common sense would certainly dictate a very different expenditure of the public money. So burdensome is this mode of payment, that where their residence is followed by tythes being paid in kind, the clergyman, who ought to be an object beloved and revered, lives really upon the ruin of all his parishioners, so that instead of giving public money to bring him

him into a parish, no application of those funds would be more beneficial in such a case, than to purchase his absence. If ever such plans came in agitation, it would certainly be right to establish a provision for parish clerks, to teach the children of all religions to read and write.

THE revenues of the clergy in Ireland, are very considerable. Here is a list of the bishopricks with the annual value, which I have had corrected so often in the neighbourhood of each that I believe it will be found nearly exact:

	l.		l.
		Brought over,	43,500
The Primacy per ann.	8,000	Dromore	2,000
Dublin	5,000	Clonfert	2,400
Tuam	4,000	Clogher	4,000
Cathel	4,000	Kilmore	2,600
Derry	7,000	Elphin	3,700
Limerick	3,500	Killala	2,900
Corke	2,700	Kildare	2,600
Cloyne	2,500	Raphoe	2,600
Offory	2,000	Meath	3,400
Waterford	2,500	Kilalloe	2,300
Down	2,300	Leighlin and Ferns	2,200
Carried over	43,5000		74,300

THIS total does not, however, mark the extent or value of the land which yields it. I was informed in conversation that the lands of the primacy would, if left as a private estate, be worth near one hundred thousand a year. Those of Derry half as much, and those of Cathel near thirty thousand a year. These circumstances taken into the account will shew that seventy-four thousand pounds a year include no inconsiderable portion of the kingdom. I have been also informed,

informed, but not on any certain authority, that these fees have the patronage of an ecclesiastical revenue of above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year more.

DEANERIES.

	l.		l.
Raphoe —	1,600	Elphin —	250
Derry —	1,600	Rofs —	20
Ardfert —	60	Kilalla —	150
Connor —	200	Cloyne —	220
Clonmacnoife	50	Kilfenora —	210
Corke —	400	Dromore —	400
St. Patrick's —	800	Clonfert —	20
Down —	1,700	Leighlin —	80
Kildare —	120	Ardmagh —	150
Achonry —	100	Waterford —	400
Killaloe —	140	Christ Church	2,000
Offory —	600	Limerick —	600
Kilmacdaugh	120	Cashel —	200
Lismore —	306	Clogher —	800
Ardagh —	200	Tuam —	300
Emly —	100	Ferns —	300
Kilmou —	600	Archdeaconry of Kells	1,200

SECTION XIV.

Absentees.

THERE are very few countries in the world that do not experience the disadvantage of remitting a part of their rents to landlords who reside elsewhere; and it must ever be so while there is any liberty left to mankind of living where they please. In Ireland the amount proportioned to the territory is greater, probably, than

than in most other instances; and not having a free trade with the kingdom in which such absentees spend their fortunes, it is cut off from that return which Scotland experiences for the loss of her rents.

SOME years ago Mr. Morris published a list of the Irish absentees, and their rentals, but as every day makes considerable alterations, it is of course grown obsolete, this induced me to form a new one, which I got corrected by a variety of persons living in the neighbourhood of many of the respective estates: in such a detail, however, of private property there must necessarily be many mistakes.

1.	1.
Lord Donnegal 31,000	Mr. Bagnall — 7,000
Lord Courtenay 30,000	Mr. Longfield — 7,000
Duke of Devonshire 18,000	Lord Kenmare — 7,000
Earl of Milton — 18,000	Lord Nugent — 7,000
Earl of Shelburne 18,000	Lord Kingston — 7,000
Lady Shelburne 15,000	Lord Valentia — 7,000
Lord Hertford — 14,000	Lord Grandisson — 7,000
Marquis of Rockingham — 14,000	Lord Clifford — 6,000
Lord Barrymore — 10,000	Mr. Sloane — 6,000
Lord Monrath — 10,000	Lord Egmont — 6,000
Lord Belborough 10,000	Lord Upper Ossory 6,000
Lord Egremont — 10,000	Mr. Silver Oliver — 6,000
Lord Middleton — 10,000	Mr. Dunbar — 6,000
Lord Hillsborough 10,000	Mr. Henty O'Brien 6,000
Mr. Stackpoole — 10,000	Mr. Mathew — 6,000
Lord Darnley — 9,000	Lord Innham — 6,000
Lord Abercorn — 8,000	Lord Sandwich — 6,000
Mr. Dutton — 8,000	Lord Vane — 6,000
Mr. Barnard — 8,000	Lord Dartry — 6,000
London Society — 8,000	Lord Fane — 5,000
Lord Conyngham 8,000	Lord Claremont — 5,000
Lord Cahir — 8,000	Lord Carbury — 5,000
Earl of Antrim — 8,000	Lord Clanrickard — 5,000
	Lord Farnham — 5,000
	Lord

Lord Dillon	5,000	Lord Palmerstown	2,500
Sir W. Rowley	4,000	Lord Beaulieu	2,500
Mr. Palmer	4,000	Lord Verney	2,500
Lord Clanbrassil	4,000	Mr. Bunbury	2,500
Lord Massareen	4,000	Sir George Saville	2,000
Lord Corke	4,000	Mrs. Newman	2,000
Lord Portsmouth	4,000	Col. Shirley	2,000
Lord Ashbrook	4,000	Mr. Campbell	2,000
Lord Villiers	4,000	Mr. Minchin	2,000
Lord Bellew	4,000	Mr. Burton	2,000
Sir Laurance Dundas	4,000	Duke of Dorset	2,000
Allen family	4,000	Lord Powis	2,000
Mr. O'Callagan	4,000	Mr. Whithead	2,000
General Montagu	4,000	Sir Eyre Coote	2,000
Mr. Fitzmaurice	4,000	Mr. Upton	2,000
Mr. Needham	4,000	Mr. John Baker Holroyd	2,000
Mr. Cook	4,000	Sir N. Bayley	2,000
Mr. Annesley	4,000	Duke of Chandos	2,000
Lord Kerry	4,000	Mr. S. Campbell	2,000
Lord Fitzwilliam	4,000	Mr. Ashroby	2,000
Viscount Fitzwilliam	4,000	Mr. Damer	2,000
English Corporation	3,500	Mr. Whitehead	2,000
Lord Bingley	3,500	Mr. Welbore Ellis	2,000
Lord Dacre	3,000	Mr. Folliot	2,000
Mr. Murray of Broughton	3,000	Mr. Donellan	2,000
Lord Ludlow	3,000	Mrs. Wilson	2,000
Lord Weymouth	3,000	Mr. Forward	2,000
Lord Digby	3,000	Lord Middlesex	2,000
Lord Fortescue	3,000	Mr. Supple	2,000
Lord Derby	3,000	Mr. Nagles	2,000
Lord Fingall	3,000	Lady Raneleigh	2,000
Blundenheireffes	3,000	Mr. Addair	2,000
Lady Charleville	3,000	Lord Sefton	2,000
Mr. Warren	3,000	Lord Tyrawley	2,000
Mr. St. George	3,000	Mr. Woodcock	2,000
Mr. John Barry	3,000	Sir John Millar	2,000
Mr. Edwards	3,000	Mr. Baldwin	2,000
Mr. Freeman	3,000	Dr. Moreton	1,800
Lord Newhaven	3,000	Dr. Delany	1,800
Mr. Welsh (Kerry)	3,000	Sir William Yorke	1,700
		Mr. Arthur Barry	1,600
		Lord	

A B S E N T E E S.

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	l.		l.
Lord Dyfart —	1,600	Mr. Chichester —	1,000
Lord Clive —	1,600	Mr. Shepherd —	1,000
Mr. Bridges —	1,500	Sir P. Dennis —	1,000
Mr. Cavanagh —	1,500	Lady Dean —	1,000
Mr. Cuperden —	1,500	Lord Lisburne —	1,000
Lady Cunnigby —	1,500	Mr. Ralph Smith —	1,000
Mr. Annesley —	1,500	Mr. Ormsby —	1,000
Mr. Hauren —	1,500	Lord Stanhope —	1,000
Mr. Long —	1,500	Lord Tilney —	1,000
Mr. Oliver Tilson —	1,500	Lord Vere —	1,000
Mr. Plumtree —	1,400	Mr. Hoar —	1,000
Mr. Pen —	1,400	Mrs. Grevill —	1,000
Mr. Rathcormuc —	1,200	Mr. Nappier —	1,000
Mr. Worthington —	1,200	Mr. Echlin —	800
Mr. Rice —	1,200	Mr. Taaf —	800
Mr. Ponsonby —	1,200	Mr. Alexander —	800
General Sandford —	1,200	Mr. Hamilton —	800
Mr. Basil —	1,200	Mr. Hamilton, (Long-	
Mr. Dodwell —	1,200	ford) —	800
Mr. Lock —	1,200	Mr. William Barnard —	800
Mr. Cramer —	1,200	Sir P. Leicester —	800
Mr. W. Long —	1,200	Mr. Moteland —	800
Mr. Rowley —	1,200	Mr. Cam —	700
Miss Mac Artney —	1,200	Mr. Jonathan Lovett —	700
Mr. Sabine —	1,100	Mr. Hull —	700
Mr. Cair —	1,000	Mr. Straunton —	700
Mr. Howard —	1,000	Mr. Richard Barry —	700
Sir F. and Lady Lum —	1,000	Colonel Barrè —	600
Lord Albemarle —	1,000	Mr. Ashon —	600
Mr. Butler —	1,000	Lady St. Leger —	600
Mr. J. Pleydell —	1,000	Mr. Hugh Boyd, —	500
Mrs. Clayton —	1,000	Sir John Hort —	500
Mr. Obins —	1,000	Mr. Edmund Burke —	500
Lord M'Cartney —	1,000	Mr. Ambrose —	500
		Total	732,700

THIS total, though not equal to what has been reported, is certainly an amazing drain upon a kingdom cut off from the re-action of a free trade, and such an one as must have a considerable effect in preventing the natural course of its prosperity. It is not the simple amount of the rental being remitted into another country; but the damp on all sorts of improvements, and the total want of countenance and encouragement which the lower tenantry labour under. The landlord at such a great distance is out of the way of all complaints, or which is the same thing of examining into, or remedying evils; miseries of which he can see nothing, and probably hear as little of, can make no impression. All that is required of the agent is to be punctual in his remittances, and as to the people who pay him, they are too often welcome to go to the devil, provided their rents could be paid from his territories. This is the general picture. God forbid it should be universally true! there are absentees who expend large sums upon their estates in Ireland; the Earl of Shelburne has made great exertions for the introduction of English agriculture. Mr. Fitzmaurice has taken every means to establish a manufacture. The bridge at Lismore is an instance of liberal magnificence in the Duke of Devonshire. The church and other buildings at Belfast do honour to Lord Donnegal. The church and town of Hillsborough are striking monuments of what that nobleman performs. Lord Conyngham's expenditure in his absence, in building and planting, merits the highest praise, nor are many other instances wanting, to the advantage of the kingdom, and the honour of the individuals.

It

It will not be improper here to add that the amount of the pension list of Ireland, the 29th of september, 1779, amounted to 84,591*l.* per annum; probably therefore absentees, pensions, offices, and interest of money, amount to above A MILLION.

SECTION XV.

Population.

IT is very astonishing that this subject should be so little understood in most countries; even in England, which has given birth to so many treatises on the state, causes and consequences of it, so little is known, that those who have the best means of information, confess their ignorance in the variety of their opinions. Those political principles which should long, ere this time, have been fixed and acknowledged, are disputed; erroneous theories started, and even the evidence of facts denied. But these mischievous errors usually proceed from the rage of condemnation, and the croaking jaundiced spirit, which determines to deduce public ruin from something; if not from a king, a minister, a war, a debt, or a pestilence—from depopulation. In short, if it was not to be attributed to any thing, many a calculator would be in bedlam with disappointment. These absurdities have been carried to such a length that we see grave treatises published, and with respectable names to them, which declare the depopulation of England itself to take place even in the most productive period of her industry and her wealth. This is not surprising, for there are no follies too ridiculous for

wise men sometimes to patronize, but the amazing circumstance is, that such tracts are believed, and that harmless politicians sigh in the very hey day of propagation, lest another age should see a fertile land without people to eat the fruits of it. Let population alone, and there is no fear of its taking care of itself; but when such fooleries are made a pretence of recommending laws for the regulation of landed property, which has been the case, such speculations should be treated with contempt and detestation; while merely speculative, they are perfectly harmless, but let them become active in parliament, and common sense should exert her power to kick the absurdity out of doors. To do justice to the Irish, I found none of this folly in that kingdom; many a violent opposer of government is to be found in that country, ready enough to confess that population increases greatly; the general tenour of the information in the minutes declare the same thing.

THERE are several circumstances in Ireland extremely favourable to population, to which must be attributed that country being so much better peopled than the state of manufacturing industry would seem to imply. There are five causes, which may be particularized among others of less consequence. First, There being no poor laws. Second, The habitations. Third, The generality of marriage. Fourth, Children not being burthensome. Fifth, Potatoes the food.

THE laws of settlement in England, which confine the poor people to what is called their legal settlements, one would think framed with no other view than to be a check upon the national industry: it was, however,

ever, a branch of, and arose from those monuments of barbarity and mischief, our poor rates; when once the poor were made, what they ought never to be considered, a burthen, it was incumbent on every parish to lessen as much as possible their number; these laws were therefore framed in the very spirit of depopulation, and most certainly have for near two centuries proved a bar to the kingdom's becoming as populous as it would otherwise have done. Fortunately for Ireland, it has hitherto kept free from these evils, and from thence results a great degree of her present population. Whole families in that country will move from one place to another with freedom, fixing according to the demand for their labour, and the encouragement they receive to settle. The liberty of doing this is certainly a premium on their industry, and consequently to their increase.

THE cabbins of the poor Irish being such apparently miserable habitations, is another very evident encouragement to population. In England, where the poor are in many respects in such a superior state, a couple will not marry unless they can get a house, to build which, take the kingdom through, will cost from twenty-five to sixty pounds; half the life, and all the vigour and youth of a man and woman are passed, before they can save such a sum; and when they have got it, so burthensome are poor to a parish, that it is twenty to one if they get permission to erect their cottage. But in Ireland the cabin is not an object of a moment's consideration; to possess a cow and a pig is an earlier aim; the cabin begins with a hovel, erected with two days labour, and the young couple pass not their youth in celibacy for want of a nest to produce their young in. If it comes to a matter of

calculation, it will then be but as four pounds to thirty.

MARRIAGE is certainly more general in Ireland than in England: I scarce ever found an unmarried farmer or cottar, but it is seen more in other classes, which with us do not marry at all; such as servants; the generality of footmen and maids, in gentlemen's families, are married, a circumstance we very rarely see in England.

ANOTHER point is their children not being burthensome. In all the enquiries I made into the state of the poor, I found their happiness and ease generally relative to the number of their children, and nothing considered as such a misfortune as having none: whenever this is the fact, or the general idea, it must necessarily have a considerable effect in promoting early marriages, and consequently population.

THE food of the people being potatoes is a circumstance not of less importance: for when the common food of the poor is so dear as to be an object of attentive œconomy, the children will want that plenty which is essential to rearing them; the article of milk, so general in the Irish cabbins, is a matter of the first consequence in rearing infants. The Irish poor in the catholic parts of that country are subsisted entirely upon land, whereas the poor in England have so little to do with it, that they subsist almost entirely from shops, by a purchase of their necessaries; in the former case it must be a matter of prodigious consequence, that the product should be yielded by as small a space of land as possible; this is the case with potatoes more than with any other crop whatever.

As

As to the number of people in Ireland I do not pretend to compute them, because there are no satisfactory data whereon to found any computation. I have seen several formed on the hearth tax, but all computations by taxes must be erroneous, they may be below, but they cannot be above the truth. This is the case of calculating the number in England from the house and window tax. In Ireland it is still more so, from the greater carelessness and abuses in collecting taxes. There is, however, another reason, the exemptions from the hearth-money, which in the words of the act are as follows: "Those who live upon alms and are not able to get their livelihood by work, and widows, who shall procure a certificate of two justices of the peace in writing yearly, that the house which they inhabit is not of greater value than 8s. by the year, and that they do not occupy land of the value of 8s. by the year, and that they have not goods or chattels to the value of four pounds*." It must be very manifest from hence, that this tax can be no rule whereby to judge of the population of the kingdom. Captain South's account is drawn from this source in the last century, which made the people 1,034,102 in the year 1695†; the number was computed by Sir W. Petty in the year 1657 to 850,000; in 1688 at 1,200,000; and in 1767 the houses taxed were 424,046. If the number of houses in a kingdom were known, we should be very far from knowing that of the people, for the computation of four or five per house, drawn from only a thousandth part of the total, and perhaps deduced from

* A Treatise of the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland. By G. E. HOWARD, Esq; Vol. i. p. 90. † Abridgement of Phil. Transf. Vol. iii. p. 665.

that of a family rather than a house, can never speak the real fact. I cannot conclude this subject, without earnestly recommending to the legislature of Ireland, to order an actual enumeration of the whole people, for which purpose I should apprehend a vote of the house of commons would be sufficient. Such a measure would be attended with a variety of beneficial effects, would prevent the rise of those errors which have been mischievous in England, and would place the great importance of Ireland to the British empire, in that truly conspicuous light in which it ought ever to be viewed, and in which it could not fail to be considered, while we have theorists, who insist that the people of England do not amount to five millions.

THE common idea is, that there are something under three millions in Ireland.

SECTION XVI.

Public Works—Dublin Society.

ABOUT twenty years ago Ireland instead of being burthened with a national debt, had at the end of every sessions of parliament from fifty to sixty thousand pounds, surplus revenue in the exchequer, at the disposition of parliament; this money was voted for public works. The members of the house of commons, at the conclusion of the sessions, met for the purpose of voting the uses to which it should be applied; the greater part of it was among themselves, their friends, or dependants; and though some work, of apparent use to the public at large, was always the plea, yet under that sanction, there were a great number of very scandalous private jobs, which
by

by degrees brought such a discredit on this mode of applying public money, that the end of it, from the increase of the real expences of the public, was not much regretted. It must, however, be acknowledged, that during this period there were some excellent works of acknowledged utility executed, such as harbours, piers, churches, schools, bridges, built and executed by some gentlemen, if not with œconomy, at least without any dishonourable misapplication; and as the whole was spent within the kingdom, it lessened the greatness of the evil.

BUT of all public works, none have been so much favoured as inland navigations; a navigation board was established many years ago for directing the expenditure of the sums, granted by parliament for those purposes, and even regular funds fixed for their support. Under the administration of this board, which consists of many of the most considerable persons in the kingdom, great attempts have been made, but I am sorry to observe, very little completed. In order to examine this matter the more regularly, it will be proper to lay before the reader the sums which have, from time to time, been granted for these objects.

An account of money, granted for public works by parliament, or the navigation board, from 1753 to 1767, inclusive*,

	l.		l.
Newry river —	9,000	Shannon River	31,500
Dromglass colliery		Grand Canal —	73,646
and navigation	112,218	Blackwater River	11,000
Dromreagh —	3,000	River Lee —	2,000
Lagan River —	40,304	River Barrow —	10,500

* Common's Journal, Vol. xiv. p. 485.

1.		1.	
River Sure and Waterford	4,500	Lying in hospital	19,300
River Nore	25,250	Mercer's hospital	500
River Boyne	36,998	Shannon bridge	2,000
Pier at Skerries	3,500	Kilkenny ditto	9,130
Pier at Envir	1,870	Corke bridges	4,000
Pier at Dunleary	18,500	Kildare bridges	600
Pier at Balbriggan	5,252	St. Mark's church	2,000
Pier at Bangor	5,00	St. Thomas's church	5,440
Pier at Killyleagh	1,200	St. Catherine's church	3,990
Pier at Sligo	1,300	St. John's church	2,000
Antrim River	1,359	Building churches	12,000
Ballast-office Wall	43,000	Athlone church	476
Widening Dublin-streets	41,986	Cashel church	800
Trinity College	31,000	Wexford church	
Baal's Bridge Limerick quays	7,773	Quay at Dingle	1,000
Corke channel harbour	6,500	Minsterkenry colleges	2,000
Corke Workhouse	1,500	Marine nursery	1,000
Derry Quay	2,900	Road round Dublin	1,500
Shandon Street, Corke	1,500	Dundalk	2,000
Wicklow harbour	6,350	Whale-fishery	1,000
St. Patrick's hospital	6,000	Drydock	2,000
Public records	5,000	Mills at Naul	3,498
Aqueduct Dun-garvon	1,300	Balty-castle	3,000
Soldiers childrens hospital	7,000	Lord Longford	3,000
			<hr/>
			717,944
			<hr/>
		Or per annum	47,863

THIS period of fifteen years, I believe was that of the surplus of the revenue, during which the objects were as various as the inclinations of those individuals who had any interest in parliament. It appears from the list, that the article of navigations swallows up the greatest proportion of it.

Sums

Sums paid out of the revenues at large for certain public works, pursuant to the several bills of supply, from 1703 to 1771, inclusive.

I.			
Navigations, collieries, docks, &c.	-		379,388
To build churches	—	—	17,706
Parliament house	—	—	16,270
Dublin workhouse, south wall passages, new road and marshalsea	-	-	140,372
Hospitals	—	—	44,251
Trinity college	—	—	45,000

Also, for the following purposes during the same period.

Rewards and bounties to manufacturers	-		29,829
Linen manufacture	—	—	180,546
Cambrick ditto	—	—	4,000
Whale-fishery	—	—	1,500
Incorporated society	—	—	96,000
Dublin society	—	—	64,000

£. 1,018,862

It is to be noted, however, that this account includes the disbursements neither of the navigation, nor the linen board, for it is upon record, that the grand canal alone has cost above three hundred thousand pounds, by some accounts half a million.

Granted

Granted by the navigation board only, from 1768 to 1771.

	1768,	1769,	1770,	1771,	Total.
	l.	l.	l.	l.	l.
Newry canal,	2,216	130		88	2,434
Drumglafs navigation,	1,971	244	2,151	1,200	5,566
Barrow navigation,			3,000	100	3,100
Shannon navigation,	4,162	162	3,336		7,660
Grand canal,	550	1,280	755	2,000	4,585
Boyne navigation,	2,143	2,860	2,000	2,504	9,507
Fergus navigation,	500		350		850
	11,542	4,676	11,592	5,892	33,702

INCOMPLETE as these data are, we find from them, that great sums of money have been granted for inland navigations, and are to this day given for the same purpose; let us therefore enquire how this money has been expended, and what has been the effect of it.

I made some enquiries, and travelled many miles to view some of the navigations, and the only one which appeared to me really completed, is the canal from the town of Newry to the sea, on which I saw a brig of eighty or one hundred tons burthen. The same canal is extended further than that town, but stops short of the great object for which it was begun and made, viz. the Drumglafs and Dungannon collieries; this may therefore be classed as incomplete relative to the object, but as Newry is a place of considerable trade, finishing it so far has merit. The great design was to furnish Dublin with Irish coals, which was probably feasible, for the seams of coals in those collieries are asserted to be of such a thickness and goodness, as proved them more than equal to the consumption of half a dozen such cities as Dublin: but two great difficulties were to be overcome; first, to make the navigation so, that
all

all land carriage might be saved, which was properly a public work; and secondly, to work the collieries, which was properly private business, but from the utter deficiency of capital in the hands of the individuals concerned, could never have been done without public assistance. To get over these difficulties, parliament went very eagerly into the business; they granted so liberally to the canal, that I think it has been finished to within two or three miles of the collieries; at the same time a private company was formed for working the mines, to whom considerable grants were made to enable them to proceed. The property in the works changed hands several times; among others, the late archbishop of Tuam (Ryder) was deeply concerned in them, entered with great spirit into the design; but what with the impositions of the people employed; the loss of some that were able and honest; the ignorance of others; and the jobbing spirit of some proprietors, parliament, after granting enormous sums, both to the canal and collieries, had the mortification, instead of seeing coals come to Dublin, nothing but gold sent from Dublin, to do that which fate seemed determined should never be done, and so in despair abandoned the design to the navigation board; to see if their lesser exertions would effect what the mightier ones had failed in. A Mr. Ducarte, an Italian engineer, and very ingenious architect, has had for a few years the superintendence of the works, but the temper of the nation has been so soured by disappointments, that he has not the support which he thinks necessary to do any thing effectual.

THE importance of the object will appear from this circumstance; that upon an average of seven years, from 1764 to 1770, the import of coals amounted to

180,113

180,113 tons per ann. and in the next seven, from 1771 to 1777, to 204,566.

FROM whence it appears, that not only the quantity itself is great, but that it is a very rising import, owing to the increase of Dublin, which has arose with the increasing prosperity of the kingdom.

The little effect of all attempts to supply Dublin with Irish coals is seen by the bounties paid for that purpose, amounting to no more for the last seven years than from one to two hundred pounds a year. In 1776 and 1777 so little as eighty-six pounds.

BEFORE I entirely dismiss this undertaking, I cannot but remark, that nothing can more clearly prove the amazing want of capital in Ireland than the present state of these works. The navigation is complete except two or three miles; I will venture to assert, that parliament would grant the money for finishing it without hesitation, provided men of undoubted substance engaged for working the collieries at their own expence: we may therefore assert, there is water carriage from some of the finest seams of coal in the world, and at a very slight depth, directly into the heart of the second market in the British dominions, with the advantage of a parliamentary bounty per chaldron on their import into Dublin. Yet, with all these advantages, nobody has capital enough to undertake the work. This fact seems to call also for another observation. I remember in the English house of commons, in the sessions 1777-8, when the friends of the Irish trade bills urged, that the want of capital in Ireland was such that she could never rival the manufactures of Great Britain: it was replied, that
English

English capitals would go over to do it for them; but what I have just recited, proves that this remark is perfectly unfounded. If capitals were so readily moved from one country to another, the Drumglass collieries would have attracted them, especially as an interest for ever is to be purchased in them; but the fact is, that removeable capitals are in the hands of men who have been educated, and perhaps have made them *locally* in some trade or undertaking which they will not venture to remove. Prejudice and habit govern mankind as much even as their interest, so that no apprehension can be so little founded as that of a country losing the capital she has made, by transferring it into another for greater seeming advantages in trade. But this point I shall have occasion hereafter to dwell more particularly on.

THE grand canal, as it is ridiculously termed, was another inland navigation which has cost the public still greater sums. The design, as the maps of Ireland shew, was to form a communication by water between Dublin and the Shannon by this cut, most of the way through the immense bog of Allen. The former plan of bringing coals to Dublin was a very wise one, but this of the grand canal had scarcely any object that seemed to call for such an exertion. If the country is examined, through which the intended canal was to pass, and also that through which the Shannon runs, it will be found, considering its extent, to be the least productive for the Dublin market, of the whole kingdom. Examine Leitrim, Roscommon, Longford, Galway, Clare, Limerick, and those parts of West Meath and Kings, which the line of the canal and the Shannon lead through, there are scarcely any commodities in them for Dublin.

Nay,

Nay, the present bounty on the inland carriage of corn, proves to a demonstration, that the quantity raised in all these counties for that market is contemptible; What other products are there? Raw wool takes another direction, it goes at present from Roscommon to Corke. Manufactures in that line are very insignificant; there are some in Galway, but the ports of Limerick and Galway, are perfectly sufficient for the small exportation of them. There remains nothing but turf; and who at Dublin would burn that while Whitehaven coals are at the present price?

Most of the inland navigations in England have been executed with private funds; the interest paid by the tolls—one strong reason for this mode, is the prevention of unnecessary and idle schemes; the manufactures must be wrought, or the products raised, and feel the clog of an expensive carriage before private persons will subscribe their money towards a cheaper conveyance; in which case, the very application to parliament is generally proof sufficient that a canal ought to be cut. Have something to carry before you, seek the means of carriage. I will venture to say, that if the grand canal was entirely complete, the navigation of it, including whatever the country towns took from Dublin, would prove of such a beggarly account, that it would then remain a greater monument of folly, if possible, than at present. Some gentlemen I have talked with on this subject, have replied *it is a job; it was meant as a job, you are not to consider it as a canal of trade, but as a canal for public money;* but even this, though advanced in Ireland, is not upon principle. I answer that something has been done, fourteen miles with numbers of locks, quays, bridges, &c.

&c. are absolutely finished, though only for the benefit of eels and skating: Why throw this money away? Half what these fourteen miles have cost would have finished the Newry canal, and perfected the Dungannon collieries. Admit your argument of the job; I feel its weight; I see its force; but that does not account for the sums actually expended. Might not the same persons have plundered the public to the same amount, in executing some works of real utility; from which something else might have resulted than disgrace and ignominy to the nation?

As to the other navigations, there is in general this objection to be made to them all, however necessary they might be, they are useless for want of being completed: three fourths are only begun. The gentlemen in the neighbourhood of them have had interest enough in the navigation board to get a part only voted, and from the variety of undertakings going on at the same time, and all for the same reason incomplete, the public utility has been more trifling from all, than from a single one finished. Sorry I am to say, that a history of public works in Ireland would be a history of jobs, which has and will prove of much worse consequence, than may be at first apparent: it has given a considerable check to allowing grants of money. Administration seeing the uses to which it has been applied, have viewed these misapplications, as they term them, of the public money with a very jealous eye. They have curtailed much: until another very questionable measure, the bounty on the inland carriage of corn to Dublin demanded so much as to leave nothing for jobs of a different sort; that measure may be repealed, and the money applied to it

will be at the disposal of parliament, either for the common purpose of government, or applicable to some national improvement of a more decisive nature; the latter may, after so many instances, be rejected for fear of jobs: how melancholy a consideration is it, that in a kingdom which from various causes had been so fortunate as to see a great portion of public treasure annually voted for public purposes, so abominably misapplied, and pocketed by individuals, as to bring a ridicule and reproach upon the very idea of such grants. There is such a want of public spirit, of candour and of care for the interests of posterity in such a conduct, that it cannot be branded with an expression too harsh, or a condemnation too pointed: nor less deserving of severity is it, if flowing from political and secret motives of burthening the *public* revenues to make *private* factions the more important.

GREAT honour is due to Ireland for having given birth to the DUBLIN SOCIETY, which has the undisputed merit of being the father of all the similar societies now existing in Europe. It was established in 1731, and owed its origin to one of the most patriotic individuals which any country has produced, DR. SAMUEL MADAN. For some years it was supported only by the voluntary subscriptions of the members, forming a fund under a thousand pounds a year; yet was there such a liberality of sentiment in their conduct, and so pure a love of the public interest apparent in all their transactions, as enabled them with that small fund to effect much greater things than they have done in later times since parliament has granted them regularly ten thousand pounds a session. A well written history of their transactions would be a work extremely

remely useful to Ireland; for it would explain much better than any reasoning could do, the proper objects for the patronage both of the society and parliament. I shall confine myself to a few general observations. It was instituted, as their charter expresses, for the improvement of agriculture, and for many years that material object possessed by far the greatest part of their attention; but when their funds by the aid of parliament grew more considerable, they deviated so far into manufactures, (in which branch they have been continually increasing their efforts,) that at present agriculture seems to be but a secondary object with them. During the life time of that ingenious but unfortunate man, *Mr. John Wynn Baker*, his support drew so many friends of agriculture to their meetings, that the premiums in its favour were very numerous; since his death, the nobility and gentry not having the same inducement to attend the transactions of the society, they were chiefly directed by some gentlemen of Dublin, who understand fabrics much better than lands, and being more interested in them, they are attended to, perhaps, in too exclusive a manner. It would be tedious to enter into an examination of many of their measures, there are some, however, which demand a few remarks.

IN order to encourage the manufacture of Irish woollen cloths, and Irish silks, the society have two warehouses*, in one of which silk is sold on their account, wholesale and retail, and in the other cloth; both are sent to them by the weaver, whose name is

* THE woollen warehouse was opened May 29, 1773; that for silk, Feb. 13, 1765.

written on the piece, and the price per yard; nothing but ready money is taken; the stock of silks generally amounts to the value of twelve or thirteen thousand pounds; and of woollens to ten or eleven thousand more; and the expences in rent and salaries of these warehouses amount to five hundred pounds a year each. Call the stock twenty-five thousand pounds at six per cent. the total expence of this measure is just two thousand five hundred pounds a year; or three times over the whole revenue of the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce at London. I have examined their sales in the weekly returns published, and find that from june 23, 1777, to february 7, 1778, their average weekly receipt was

	Silk	_____	150
	Wool	_____	339
Or per annum,	Silk	_____	7,800
	Wool	_____	17,628

as the society give a premium of 3l. per cent. on all the Irish wrought silk bought in the kingdom by wholesale for the purpose of retailing, that is above four shillings a yard, it will help us to form an idea of the silk manufacture. From the first of june, 1776, to the first of june, 1777, the amount was 34,023l. 8s. 2d. including Corke, Limerick, Belfast, &c. and they paid six hundred and fifty pounds premiums on it, from hence we find that their own silk sales must be a large proportion of the whole in Dublin. This has been the greatest exertion of the Dublin Society of late years.

THE intention of the measure is evidently to take the weavers, both of silk and wool, out of the hands
of

of mercers and drapers, and let their manufacturers come to market without any intermediate profit on them. There is one effect certain to result from this, which is taking a great part of the ready money custom from the draper and mercer, which being the most beneficial part of their trade, is to all intents and purposes laying a heavy tax on them: now upon every principle of common sense as well as commerce, it will appear a strange mode of encouraging a manufacture to lay taxes upon the master manufacturers. But all taxes laid upon a tradesman in consequence of his trade, must be drawn back in the sale of his commodities, and this tax must be so as well as others; what he does sell must be so much the dearer, or he can carry on no trade at all; here therefore is a fresh tax, that of enhancing the prices paid by all who do not buy with ready money, a very great majority of the whole: the dearer a commodity is the less is consumed of it, so the consumption on credit is undoubtedly lessened, in order that those who have ready money in their hands may be served something the cheaper: here is a manifest and self evident mischief, in order to attain a very doubtful and questionable benefit.

Is there under the sun, an instance of a manufacture made to flourish by such measures? Master manufacturers with that vigour, attention, skill and invention, which are the result of a profitable business, are in all parts of the world, the very soul of prosperous fabricks. It is their profit which animates them to those spirited exertions, upon which the advance of manufactures depends. If the Dublin society's conduct is right in part it is right in the whole, which would be attracting *all* the demand to their own warehouses;

houses; in which case there would not be a mercer or draper left in Dublin. Their committees, and gentlemen, and weavers, may choose and pay clerks, and discharge their rent, but where are the directors of finer fabricks to come from? Where the men of taste who are to invent? Where the quickness and sagacity to mark and follow the caprice of fashion? Are these to come from weavers? Absurd the idea! It is the active and intelligent master that is to do all this. Go to the weavers in Spitalfields, and see them mere tools directed by their masters. Go to any other fabrick upon earth, and see what would become of it if the heads were considered as useless, and rivalled in their profits with public money. If the manufacture is of such a sickly growth, that it will not support the master as well as the man, it is not worth a country's notice. What is it that induces individuals to embark in a fabrick their capital and industry? Profit. The greater this is, the greater the capital that will be attracted; but establish a system that shall rival, lessen and destroy this profit, who will bring their capital to such a trade? And can any people be so senseless as to imagine, that a manufacture is to be encouraged by banishing capital from it?

THERE is another effect, which I should suppose must flow from this extraordinary idea, which is, that of raising great heart-burnings and jealousies among the trade; the drapers and mercers are not probably pleased with the weavers, who work for the society's warehouses; this must be very detrimental to the business at large. I may also observe, that master-manufacturers have more ways of encouraging skilful and industrious workmen than the mere buying their goods

goods and employing them ; there are a thousand little points of favour in their power, which the society cannot practice ; but how can they be inclined to such things, while steps are taken to deprive them of every workman that can do without their assistance ?

FORTUNATELY for the kingdom, it is at Dublin as in other cities, the ready money trade is by no means equal to that of credit, consequently the pernicious tendency of this measure cannot fully be seen. The drapers and mercers do and will support their trade in spite of this formidable rival, backed with a premium of two thousand five hundred pounds a year, appropriated to their ruin, in order to encourage their trade ! The tendency of the measure is evidently the destruction of both the manufactures.

THIS is a fact, which appears so obvious, that I should apprehend it must have done mischief, in direct proportion to the amount of the operation. It is extremely difficult to discover facts that can prove this from the nature of the case ; no wonder if the import of foreign silk and woollens should have increased from such a measure. Let us examine this point.

Account of Silk imported into Ireland in Twenty-Six Years *

Years.	Manufactured.	Raw.	Ribbands
	lb.	lb.	lb.
1752	14,654	53,705	160
1753	13,360	60,155	184
1754	15,441	42,665	361
1755	9,874	43,947	265
1756	13,715	32,948	140
1757	7,709	41,354	17
1758	17,292	51,303	271
1759	13,836	44,493	118
1760	21,878	55,905	366
1761	14,815	51,348	180
1762	21,054	70,292	306
1763	17,741	41,021	469
1764	23,511	36,581	746
Average,	15,760	48,132	275
1765	21,582	54,655	1,543
1766	17,260	54,418	1,724
1767	19,104	46,067	1,527
1768	23,446	52,062	1,646
1769	17,522	57,001	1,401
1770	20,581	44,273	1,183
1771	14,095	38,107	650
1772	15,804	33,611	644
1773	17,379	53,662	378
1774	14,665	38,811	553
1775	13,658	29,578	355
1776	17,326	41,594	717
1777	24,187	54,043	1,574
Average,	18,200	45,990	1,068
1778	27,223	51,873	
1779	15,794	29,633	

* MS. Communicated by Mr. Forster.

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CONSIDERING the extent of the period, I will not assert that the preceding table is very decisive; whatever conclusions, however, that are to be drawn from it, are as far as they go *against* the late measures that respect the Irish silk manufacture, for the imported fabricks have *increased*, while the raw material worked up in Ireland has *decreased*; a proof that the manufacture has not been of any very healthy growth.

An Account of the Import of Woollen Goods for 14 Years*.

Years.	New Drapery.	Old Drapery.
	<i>Yards.</i>	<i>Yards.</i>
1764	248,062	220,828
1765	239,365	176,161
1766	313,216	197,316
1767	325,585	189,882
1768	337,558	198,664
1769	394,553	207,117
1770	462,499	249,666
Average,	331,548	205,662
1771	362,096	217,395
1772	314,703	153,566
1773	387,143	210,065
1774	461,407	282,317
1775	465,611	281,379
1776	676,485	290,215
1777	731,819	381,330
Average,	485,609	259,466
Last 7 years,	485,609	259,466
Former ditto,	331,548	205,662
Increase,	154,061	53,804
1778	1741,426	5378,077
1779	270,839	176,196

* Parl. Rec. of Exp. and Imp. MS.
pounds. § Value 264,653.

‡ Value 92,678

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THE increase is so great that it might justify conclusions against all the late measures, none of which are near so much to be condemned as the establishment of the society's warehouse.

Import of Linen, Cotton, and Silk, British Manufacture.

<i>Value.</i>		<i>Value.</i>	
l.		l.	
In the year 1764	18,858	In the year 1771	20,282
1765	18,037	1772	14,081
1766	15,557	1773	20,472
1767	12,710	1774	21,611
1768	16,021	1775	24,234
1769	13,402	1776	30,371
1770	20,907	1777	45,411
Average of 7 years 16,784		Average of 7 years 25,208	
		1778	52,675

WHEN it is considered, that the undoubted mischief of this system is not submitted to as an unavoidable evil, but purchased with great expence, attention and anxiety; and that the two thousand five hundred a year thus bestowed, as the price of so much harm, might be expended in objects of great consequence to the public, it will surely seem unpardonable in parliament to appear so little solicitous for the welfare of their manufactures, as to give ten thousand pounds a session, at large, and not limit the application of such a liberal grant to purposes of certain advantage. And it surely behoves the society itself to recommit this matter; to extend their views; to consider the principles upon which all the manufactures in the world are carried on, supported and increased;

creased; and if they see no vestige of such a policy, as they patronize and practice, in any country that has pushed her fabricks to a great height, at least to be dubious of this favourite measure, and not persist in forcing it at such a considerable expence.

ANOTHER measure of the society, which I hinted at before, is to give three per cent. to the wholesale purchasers of Irish silks for retailing, and this costs them above six hundred pounds a year. Upon what sound principles it is done I cannot discover; if the mercers have not a demand for these Irish silks, five times the society's premiums will not make them purchasers; on the contrary, if they have a demand for them, they most undoubtedly will buy them without any premium for so doing. It appears, therefore, to me, that the only end which such a measure could answer, was to discover the absolute insignificance of the whole Irish silk manufacture, which is proved through the whole kingdom to be to the amount only of thirty-four thousand pounds a year, of four shillings a yard and upwards; but the repetition of the premium shews that this was not the design. Of all other fabricks this is the most improper for Ireland, and for any dependant country; it is an absolute manufacture of taste, fancy, and fashion; the seat of empire will always command these, and if Dublin made superior silks, they would be despised on comparison with those of London; we feel something of this in England from France being the source of most of the fashions in Europe. To force a silk manufacture in Ireland is therefore to strive against whim, caprice, fashion, and all the prejudices of mankind, instead of which, it is these that become a solid support of fabricks when wisely set on foot. There are no linens fashionable in
England

England but the Irish, people will not wear any other, and yet gaulic Hollands are asserted to be much stronger. Should not the Irish, therefore, band their force to drive the nail that will go, instead of plaguing themselves with one which never will. This is a general observation, but the particular measure of the society, supposing the object valuable, is perfectly insignificant, it is throwing away six hundred pounds a year to answer no one purpose whatever.

THE society offers a great number of other premiums for manufactures, many of which are very exceptionable; but it would take up too much room to be particular in an examination of them. In agriculture they have a great number offered to poor renters separately.

UPON the general spirit of these I have to remark, that the design of encouraging poor renters is very meritorious, and does honour to the humanity of the society; but from a great variety of instances which were pointed out to me, as I travelled through the kingdom, I have too much reason to believe, that abuses and deceptions are numerous, that the society has actually paid premiums per acre, to great numbers of claimants, who have, as soon as they received the money, let the land run waste again, so that no person could distinguish it from the adjoining bog or moor. There are two reasons why these premiums must very much fail of their wished-for success; the extreme difficulty, not to say impossibility, of ascertaining the merit of the candidates, or the facts alleged; and the utter impossibility that such very poor fellows should work any improvements worthy the society's patronage. The London society have found, by repeated

repeated experience, their utter incapacity of doing any thing by weight of money, in bounties per acre for any object; I am convinced the same fact will hold true with that of Dublin; the funds even of the latter are much too inconsiderable for this mode. The object ought to be to inspire those men, who have the necessary capital to employ it in the way the society thinks for the public good: the premiums should be honorary but considerable, with that degree of variety and novelty that should attract the attention of men of fortune.

BUT nothing was ever better imagined, than the plan of fixing an English farmer in the kingdom, so much at the society's expence, as to give them a power over a part of his management. This was the case with Mr. Baker; and it was also a very wise measure to enable him to establish a manufactory of husbandry implements. The only errors in the execution of this scheme were: First, Not supporting him much more liberally, when it was found that his private fortune was too inconsiderable to support himself and family; had he been easy in his private circumstances, his husbandry would have been perfect. Second, The not directing him in the choice of his farm, which was not a proper one for an example to the kingdom, it should have been in some mountainous tract, where there was bog, and tolerable soil. Third, In permitting him to make and publish small and trifling experiments, objects of curiosity to a private speculatist, but quite unworthy of the Dublin society; besides, such a person should be brought to establish what a previous experience has convinced him is right, not to gain his own knowledge at the society's expence.

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THE scheme, had it, in the case of Mr. Baker, been executed in this manner, or was such an one now to be adopted, would tend more to spreading a true practical knowledge of agriculture than any other that could be executed; and the union of a manufactory of implements unites with it perfectly. To inform a backward country of right systems has its use, but it is very weak compared with the actual practice and exhibition of it before their eyes; such an object in full perfection of management, with an annual publication of the result, simply related, would tend more to the improvement of the national husbandry than any other system. The farm should not be less than five hundred acres, it should have a tract of bog and another of mountain; one thousand pounds should be applied in the necessary buildings; five hundred pounds immediately in fences; one thousand pounds a year for five years in stocking it; one thousand pounds for establishing a manufactory of implements, not to be sold but given away by the society as premiums; five hundred pounds a year allowed to the superintendant for his private emolument, that no distresses of his own might interfere with the public views; and in addition, to animate his attention, ten per cent. upon the gross product of the farm. The society to delegate their power over it to a select committee, and no member to be eligible to that committee, who had not in his own occupation one hundred acres of land, or more. The first expence would be seven thousand five hundred pounds, and the annual charge five hundred pounds; this would be an effective establishment that could not fail, if the manager was properly chosen. He should be an active, spirited man, not so low as to have no reputation to lose, but at the same time more a practical than a speculative farmer, and who could teach the
common

common Irish with his own hands, the operations he wished them to perform. The annual charge of only one of the society's warehouses is equal to this, and the capital appropriated to it near twice as large; how much more beneficial would this application of the money be?

RELATIVE to the premiums for the encouragement of agriculture, I shall venture to hint some which I apprehend would be of great advantage; and by throwing them into the words common in offering premiums, my meaning will be better explained.

1. TURNIP HUSBANDRY, 1779. To the person who shall cultivate the most land, not less than twenty acres, in the following course of crops during four years, viz. 1. Turnips. 2. Barley or oats. 3. Clover. 4. Wheat. The turnips to be twice thoroughly hand hoed and eaten where they grow by sheep, and to make a full report of the cultivation, expences, produce, and effect of the turnips on the sheep fed, a piece of plate of the value of one hundred pounds, with a suitable inscription. Accounts to be delivered in the year 1784.

2. For the next greatest quantity of land, not less than ten acres so cultivated, a piece of plate of the value of fifty pounds, with a suitable inscription.

3. To the person who shall, in the year 1780, have the most acres of turnips, not less than twenty, twice thoroughly land hoed; to report the effect, a piece of plate of the value of one hundred pounds, with a suitable inscription.

4. For the next greatest quantity, not less than ten acres, a piece of plate of the value of fifty pounds, with a suitable inscription.

5. **BEAN HUSBANDRY, 1779.** To the person who shall cultivate the most land, not less than twenty acres, in the following course of crops during four years, viz. 1. Beans. 2. Wheat. 3. Beans. 4. Wheat. The beans to be in rows, eighteen inches asunder, and three times thoroughly hoed, and to report the effect to the society. A piece of plate of the value of one hundred pounds, with an inscription. Accounts to be delivered in the year 1784.

6. For the next greatest quantity, not less than ten acres, a piece of plate of the value of fifty pounds, with an inscription.

7. To the person who shall cultivate the greatest quantity of land, not less than twenty acres, in the following course of crops during four years, viz. 1. Beans. 2. Barley or oats. 3. Clover. 4. Wheat. The beans as before, and to report the effect. A piece of plate of the value of one hundred pounds, with an inscription.

8. Next greatest quantity, not less than ten acres. The value of fifty pounds, with an inscription.

9. **FLAX HUSBANDRY, 1779.** To the person who shall cultivate the most land, not less than twenty acres, in the following course of crops during four years, viz. 1. Turnips. 2. Flax. 3. Clover. 4. Wheat. The turnips to be twice hand hoed, and the flax to be seeded, stacked and threshed like corn, and then watered and dressed, and to report the effect to the society. A piece of plate of the value of one hundred and fifty pounds, with a suitable inscription.

10. For the next greatest quantity, not less than 10 acres. The plate 80l. Accounts to be delivered in 1784.

11. **MOUNTAIN IMPROVEMENT, 1779.** To the person who shall improve the largest tract of mountain land, not less than one hundred acres, at present waste, and not let at one shilling an acre, and make a full report
of

of the cultivation, expences and produce to the society in the year 1787. A piece of plate of the value of five hundred pounds, with a suitable inscription. *Conditions.* The improvement at the time of the certificates being signed to be completely inclosed; to be divided into fields of not more than ten acres each; the fences to be either walls in mortar, or double ditches well planted with white thorns and timber, the gates, piers, &c. to be perfect. The land to have had four crops in the following course: 1. Turnips. 2. Oats, bere or rye. 3. Turnips. 4. Oats, the turnips twice hand hoed, and eaten by sheep, and one half of the improvement to be in grass laid down with the last crop of oats. Not less than one hundred barrels of lime per acre to have been spread on the whole. An orchard of two acres to be well planted; and a fally garden of as much. One good farm house, with a barn, stable, cowhouse, &c. and four cabbins to be built and inhabited, the whole of stone and mortar, and covered with slate. And the tract to be actually let on lease to one or more tenants, not occupying any other land, and residing on the premises. Whoever intends to be claimants, to give notice to the society that they may appoint inspectors.

12. To the next greatest quantity, not less than sixty acres, on the like conditions, the plate three hundred pounds.

13. BOG IMPROVEMENT, 1779. To the person who shall drain and improve into rich meadow, the greatest quantity of bog, not less than 50 acres, being part of a bog not less than 100 acres, and make a full report to the society of the mode, expences and produce in the year 1788, a piece of plate of the

value of 400*l*. with an honorary inscription. The society leaves to the claimant to pursue whatever mode he pleases, but the land must have a good house, cow-house and necessary offices, with two cabins built all of stone and slate, and the improvement let to resident tenants occupying no other lands.

14. For the next greatest quantity, not less than thirty acres, the plate two hundred pounds.

15. PLANTING. To the person who shall inclose with a wet wall, not less than six feet high, and plant, the greatest quantity of land, not less than fifty acres, in the year 1780, a piece of plate of the value of four hundred pounds, with a suitable inscription. The trees to be ash, elm, poplar, beech, larch, Scotch, spruce or silver fir, to be not more than four years old, nor more than four feet asunder, and in the centre of every such space, acorns to be sown and covered.

16. For the next greatest quantity, not less than thirty acres, the plate two hundred pounds.

17. To the person who shall in the year 1780, plant and fence so as to be completely secured from cattle, the greatest quantity of land with the common basket fallow in beds six feet broad, and four rows on each bed, not less than thirty acres, a piece of plate of the value of one hundred pounds, with a suitable inscription.

18. For the next greatest quantity, not less than fifteen acres, the plate fifty pounds. All to be continued by previous notice, every year when once they came into turn.

I have to observe upon them, that the courses of crops here recommended can only have fair justice done

done them in the infancy of the husbandry by gentlemen, or men of considerable capital; consequently, it is the wisest to offer a premium that shall attract their notice, and not vary it for lesser tenants, who at first would be incapable of executing the conditions. The mountain and bog improvement are great objects, and therefore well deserve ample encouragement; I have added the condition of *being let* by way of satisfactory proof, that the improvement is completely finished, for if it was kept in hand, it would be a matter of opinion and valuation, which is never satisfactory. The planting premiums would in all probability have many claimants. The stone wall is essential; planting without preservation is trifling.

As to the nature of the premiums, I recommend, viz. pieces of plate, I think they would have a greater effect than any thing else; money would be out of sight and forgotten; a medal that has been prostituted to all sorts of trifles, would be a contemptible reward for such exertions, but a handsome cup, vase, tray, table, &c. would be always in sight, and on every occasion a subject for conversation to animate others to gain the same. The experience of a few years would prove whether the quantities of land required were too high or not. An inspector to view all proceedings would be absolutely necessary, whose reward should be devised in such a manner as to secure his integrity; unless some gentlemen of considerable consequence in the neighbourhood took that office voluntarily upon them.

SOME premiums upon these principles, united with such a plan as I have stated for the establishment of a farm, would be attended with all the advantages to the

national agriculture, in the power of any society to effect. The expence would not be so large as not to leave a considerable portion of the society's funds for trade and manufactures, and consequently to please those who wished such objects not to be neglected.

S E C T I O N XVII.

Manners and Customs.

*Quid leges sine moribus,
Vanæ proficiunt!*

IT is but an illiberal business for a traveller, who designs to publish remarks upon a country, to sit down coolly in his closet and write a satire on the inhabitants. Severity of that sort must be enlivened with an uncommon share of wit and ridicule, to please. Where very gross absurdities are found, it is fair and manly to note them; but to enter into character and disposition is generally uncandid, since there are no people but might be better than they are found, and none but have virtues which deserve attention, at least as much as their failings; for these reasons this section would not have found a place in my observations, had not some persons, of much more flippancy than wisdom, given very gross misrepresentations of the Irish nation. It is with pleasure, therefore, that I take up the pen, on the present occasion, as a much longer residence there enables me to exhibit a very different picture; in doing this, I shall be free to remark, wherein I think the conduct of certain classes may have given rise to general and consequently injurious condemnation.

THERE are three races of people in Ireland, so distinct, as to strike the least attentive traveller: these are the Spanish, which are found in Kerry, and a part of Limerick and Corke, tall and thin, but well made,
a long

a long visage, dark eyes, and long black flank hair. The time is not remote when the Spaniards had a kind of settlement on the coast of Kerry, which seemed to be overlooked by government. There were many of them in Queen Elizabeth's reign, nor were they entirely driven out till the time of Cromwell. There is an island of Valentia on that coast, with various other names, certainly Spanish. The Scotch race is in the north, where are to be found the features which are supposed to mark that people, their accent, and many of their customs. In a district, near Dublin, but more particular in the baronies of Bargie and Forth in the county of Wexford, the Saxon tongue is spoken without any mixture of the Irish, and the people have a variety of customs mentioned in the minutes, which distinguish them from their neighbours. The rest of the kingdom is made up of mongrels. The Milesian race of Irish, which may be called *native*, are scattered over the kingdom, but chiefly found in Connaught and Munster; a few considerable families, whose genealogy is undoubted, remain, but none of them with considerable possessions, except the O'Briens and Mr. O'Niel, the former have near twenty thousand pounds a year in the family; the latter half as much, the remnant of a property once his ancestors, which now forms six or seven of the greatest estates in the kingdom. O'Hara and M'Dermont are great names in Connaught, and O'Donnohue a considerable one in Kerry; but the O'Connors, and O'Driscals in Corke, claim an origin prior in Ireland to any of the Milesian race.

THE only divisions which a traveller, who passed through the kingdom, without any residence, could make, would be into people of considerable fortune and mob. The intermediate division of the scale, so

numerous and respectable in England, would hardly attract the least notice in Ireland. A residence in the kingdom convinces one, however, that there is another class, in general of small fortune,—country gentlemen, and renters of land. The manners, habits and customs of people of considerable fortune, are much the same every where, at least there is very little difference between England and Ireland, it is among the common people one must look for those traits by which we discriminate a national character. The circumstances which struck me most in the common Irish were, vivacity and a great and eloquent volubility of speech; one would think they could take snuff and talk without tiring till doomsday. They are infinitely more chearful and lively than any thing we commonly see in England, having nothing of that incivility of sullen silence, with which so many Englishmen seem to wrap themselves up, as if retiring within their own importance. Lazy to an excess at *work*, but so spiritedly active at *play*, that at *hurling*, which is the cricket of savages, they shew the greatest feats of agility. Their love of society is as remarkable as their curiosity is insatiable; and their hospitality to all comers, be their own poverty ever so pinching, has too much merit to be forgotten. Pleased to enjoyment with a joke, or witty repartee, they will repeat it with such expression, that the laugh will be universal. Warm friends and revengeful enemies; they are inviolable in their secrecy, and inevitable in their resentment; with such a notion of honour, that neither threat nor reward would induce them to betray the secret or person of a man, though an oppressor, whose property they would plunder without ceremony. Hard drinkers and quarrelsome; great liars, but civil, submissive and obedient. Dancing is so universal among them, that there are every where itinerant dancing-masters,

masters, to whom the cottars pay six pence a quarter for teaching their families. Besides the Irish jig, which they can dance with a most *luxuriant* expression, minuets and country dances are taught; and I even heard of cotillions coming in.

SOME degree of education is also general, hedge schools, as they are called, (they might as well be termed *ditch* ones, for I have seen many a ditch full of scholars) are every where to be met with where reading and writing are taught; schools are also common for men; I have seen a dozen great fellows at school, and was told they were educating with an intention of being priests. Many strokes in their character are evidently to be ascribed to the extreme oppression under which they live. If they are as great thieves and liars as they are reported, it is certainly owing to this cause.

If from the lowest class we rise to the highest, all there is gaiety, pleasure, luxury and extravagance; the town life at Dublin is formed on the model of that of London. Every night in the winter there is a ball or a party, where the polite circle meet, not to enjoy but to sweat each other; a great crowd crammed into twenty feet square, gives a zest to the *agréments* of small talk and whist. There are four or five houses large enough to receive a company commodiously, but the rest are so small as to make parties detestable. There is, however, an agreeable society in Dublin, in which a man of large fortune will not find his time heavy. The stile of living may be guessed from the fortunes of the resident nobility and great commoners; there are about thirty that possess incomes from seven to twenty thousand pounds a year. The court has nothing remarkable or splendid in it, but varies very

much, according to the private fortune or liberality of disposition in the Lord Lieutenant.

In the country their life has some circumstances which are not commonly seen in England. Large tracts of land are kept in hand by every body to supply the deficiencies of markets; this gives such a plenty, that, united with the lowness of taxes and prices, one would suppose it difficult for them to spend their incomes, if Dublin in the winter did not lend assistance. Let it be considered, that the prices of meat are much lower than in England; poultry only a fourth of the price; wild fowl and fish in vastly greater plenty; rum and brandy not half the price; coffee, tea, and wines, far cheaper; labour not above a third; servants wages upon an average thirty per cent. cheaper. That taxes are inconsiderable, for there is no land tax, no poor rates, no window tax, no candle or soap tax, only half a wheel tax, no servants tax, and a variety of other articles heavily burthened in England, but not in Ireland. Considering all this, one would think they could not spend their incomes; they do contrive it however. In this business they are assisted by two customs that have an admirable tendency to it, great numbers of horses and servants. The excess in the latter are in the lower sort; owing, not only to the general laziness, but also to the number of attendants every one of a higher class will have; this is common in great families in England, but in Ireland a man of five hundred pounds a year feels it. *As to horses the number is carried quite to a folly; in order to explain this point, I shall insert a table of the demesnes of many of the nobility and gentry, which will shew not only the number of horses, but of other cattle, the quantity of land, and other circumstances explanatory of their country life.

Names.

DEMESNES.

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Names.	Acres.	Wood.	Corn.	Turn. and Cabb.	Rent. l.	Labour- ers.	Hfcs.	Plough Oxen.	Sheep.
Mr. Clements,	240		14	1 1/2	420	20	22	6	163
Col. Mailey,	200		31	1 1/2	300		8	4	40
Mr. Rowley,	700	100		3	700		90		250
Lord Conyngham,	447	120	32	3		140	37	20	44
Lord Beclive,	1600		84		2000		100		500
Mr. Gerard,	1200		64		1300		12		1300
Lord Longford,	320		32	5	300	20	26	12	100
Mr. Johnson,	410	110	10	5	320	9	8	4	200
Dean Coote,	500		35	8	350	30	35	8	200
General Wallis,	700		71	5		50			150
Mr. Brown,	300				460		8		800
Mr. Bulhe,	170	30	50	2	330		15	8	70
Lord Courtown,	300		30	7	315	30	21	12	70
General Cuninghame,	150		34		375	20	16	5	70
Lord Gosfort,	300		25	3	450	30	43	4	46
Mr. Clofe,	100		23		135	9	10		40
Mr. Lelly,	350	100	32		350	30	37	20	40
Mr. Savage,	190		35	2	250		32		150
Mr. O'Neil,	733		57	17	549		68	24	40
Mr. Lellie,	1026	60	101		790	40	46	24	500
Sir J. Caldwell,	700	300	41	11	900	50		24	80

Mr.

Names.	Acres.	Wood.	Corn.	Turn. and Cabb.	Rent.	Labour- ers.	Horses.	Plough Oxen.	Sheep.
Mr. Corry,	1000		68		1.	120			500
Lord Rofs,	950	125			900	30	30		1200
Lord Farnham,	1000	200	55	10	800	100	108	22	2850
Mr. Newcomen,	400		40					18	
Mr. Mahon,	1100	100	60	8	840	20	30	12	5000
Mr. Cooper,	1000	300	22			60	25		1300
Mr. Brown,	370		18			10	30		3000
Mr. Gore,	3300		160	6	2310	120	170	20	5000
Lord Altamont,	1500		120		1000	100	70		200
Mr. French,	1790	252	55			100	20	14	424
Mr. French,	1046	100	13		600	80	45	10	980
Sir Lucius O'Brien,	399	30	47		560	60	26	11	118
Mr. Fitzgerald,	3000				2000	26	54	18	1800
Mr. Aldworth,	1270	600	550	12	1010	60	33	16	500
Lord Donneraile,	1200	200	200	5	1500	60	54	40	400
Colonel Jepson,	300		35		900		24		1200
Mr. Gordon,	915		114		700	45	13	15	1870
Mr. Jeffries,	304		20		300		32		2000
Mr. Trent,	238	24	21				13	5	2000
Lord Shannon,	1600	268	81		1500	132	11	36	470

Mr.

Names.	Acres.	Wood.	Corn.	Turn. and Cabb.	Rent. 1.	Labour- ers.	Horses.	Plough Oxen.	Sheep.
Mr. Longfield,	1100		78		800	20	65	14	200
Rev. Archd. Oliver,	900		136	16	650	50	25	21	100
Mr. Herbert,	1300	780			400		18	30	300
Mr. Bateman,	250		5		250		30		60
Lord Glendour,	1000	100	55		1000		50	8	200
Mr. Fitzgerald,	200		23	3	200		21		60
Mr. Leslie,	250	50	27		230		24	6	60
Mr. Oliver,	500	100	24	10	500	50	30	10	125
Mr. Ryves,	300		25		450	6	20		300
Lord Clanwilliam,	640		34	8	600	30	40		600
Mr. Macarney,	9000				10,000	170	180	80	8000
Lord de Montalt,	1300	300				75	40	40	1500
Mr. Moore,	600		17		1155				1000
Lord Tyrone,	2100	1500	64		1200	200	36	48	400
Mr. Bolton,	200		28		300	40	25	6	70
Mr. Nevill,	220	24			350		22		100
Mr. Lloyd,	200				150		12		182
Mr. Holmes,	540	49	25	15	540	40	30	14	590
Mr. Head,	450	16	27		675	20			400
Lord Kingborough,	600	100	30	5	400	100	40		200

THE intelligent reader will collect something more than mere curiosity from this table ; it will necessarily strike him, that a country residence in Ireland demands a much larger quantity of land in hand than in England, from which might be deduced, if not from any thing else, how much backwarder the former is than the latter ; where markets are wanting, every thing must be had at home, a case stronger still in America. In England, such extensive demesnes would be parks around the seats for beauty as much as use, but it is not so in Ireland ; the words *deer-park* and *demesne* are to be distinguished ; there are great demesnes without any parks, but a want of taste, too common in Ireland, is having a deer-park at a distance from the house ; the residence surrounded by walls, or hedges, or cabins ; and the lawn enclosure scattered with animals of various sorts, perhaps three miles off. The small quantity of corn proportioned to the total acres, shews how little tillage is attended to even by those who are the best able to carry it on ; and the column of turnips proves in the clearest manner, what the progress of improvement is in that kingdom. The number of horses may almost be esteemed a satire upon common sense ; were they well fed enough to be useful, they would not be so numerous, but I have found a good hack for a common ride scarce in a house where there were a hundred. Upon an average, the horses in gentlemen's stables, throughout the kingdom, are not fed half so well as they are in England by men of equal fortune ; yet the number makes the expence of them very heavy.

ANOTHER circumstance to be remarked in the country life is the miserableness of many of their houses ; there are men of five thousand a year in Ireland, who
live

live in habitations that a man of seven hundred a year in England would disdain; an air of neatness, order, dress, and *propreté*, is wanting to a surprizing degree around the mansion; even new and excellent houses have often nothing of this about them. But the badness of the houses is remedying every hour throughout the whole kingdom, for the number of new ones just built, or building, is prodigiouly great. I should suppose there were not ten dwellings in the kingdom thirty years ago that were fit for an English pig to live in. Gardens were equally bad, but now they are running into the contrary extreme, and wall in five, six, ten, and even twenty Irish acres for a garden, but generally double or treble what is necessary.

THE tables of people of fortune are very plentifully spread; many elegantly, differing in nothing from those of England. I think I remarked that venison wants the flavour it has with us, probably for the same reason, that the produce of rich parks is never equal to that of poor ones; the moisture of the climate, and the richness of the soil, give fat but not flavour. Another reason is the smallness of the parks, a man who has three or four thousand acres in his hands, has not, perhaps, above three or four hundred in his deer-park, and range is a great point for good venison. Nor do I think that garden vegetables have the flavour found in those of England, certainly owing to the climate; green peas I found every where perfectly insipid, and lettuce, &c. not good. Claret is the common wine of all tables, and so much inferior to what is drank in England, that it does not appear to be the same wine; but their port is incomparable, so much better than the English, as to prove, if proof was wanting, the abominable adulterations it must under-

go with us. Drinking and duelling are two charges which have long been alledged against the gentlemen of Ireland, but the change of manners which has taken place in that kingdom is not generally known in England. Drunkenness ought no longer to be a reproach; for at every table I was at in Ireland, I saw a perfect freedom reign, every person drank just as little as they pleased, nor have I ever been asked to drink a single glass more than I had an inclination for; I may go farther and assert, that hard drinking is very rare among people of fortune; yet it is certain that they sit much longer at table than in England. I was much surprized at first going over to find no summons to coffee, the company often sitting till eight, nine, or ten o'clock, before they went to the ladies. If a gentleman likes tea or coffee, he retires without saying anything, a stranger of rank may propose it to the master of the house, who from custom contrary to that of England, will not stir till he receives such a hint, as they think it would imply a desire to save their wine. If the gentlemen were generally desirous of tea, I take it for granted they would have it, but their slighting is one inconvenience to such as desire it, not knowing when it is provided, conversation may carry them beyond the time, and then if they do *trifle* over the coffee it will certainly be *cold*. There is a want of attention in this, which the ladies should remedy, if they will not break the old custom and send to the gentlemen, which is what they ought to do, they certainly should have a salver fresh. I must, however, remark, that at the politest tables this point is conducted exactly as it is in England.

DUELLING was once carried to an excess, which was a real reproach and scandal to the kingdom; it of course

course proceeded from excessive drinking; as the cause has disappeared, the effect has nearly followed: not, however, entirely, for it is yet far more common among people of fashion than in England. Of all practices, a man who felt for the honour of his country, would wish soonest to banish this, for there is not one favourable conclusion to be drawn from it: as to courage, nobody can question that of a polite and enlightened nation, entitled to a share of the reputation of the age; but it implies uncivilized manners, an ignorance of those forms which govern polite societies, or else a brutal drunkenness; the latter is no longer the cause or the pretence. As to the former, they would place the national character so backward, would take from it so much of its pretence to civilization, elegance and politeness of manners, that no true Irishman would be pleased with the imputation. Certain it is, that none are so captious as those who think themselves neglected or despised; and none are so ready to believe themselves either one or the other, as persons unused to good company. Captious people, therefore, who are ready to take an affront, must inevitably have been accustomed to ill company, unless there should be something uncommonly crooked in their natural dispositions, which is not to be supposed. Let every man that fights his one, two, three, or half a dozen duels, receive it as a maxim, that every one he adds to the number is but an additional proof of his being ill educated, and having vitiated his manners by the contagion of bad company. Who is it that can reckon the most numerous rencontres? who but the bucks, bloods, land-jobbers, and little drunken country gentlemen? Ought not people of fashion to blush at a practice which will very soon be the distinction only of the most contemptible of the people?

The

The point of honour will and must remain for the decision of certain affronts, but it will rarely be had recourse to in polite, sensible, and well bred company. The practice among *real* gentlemen in Ireland every day declining is a strong proof, that a knowledge of the world corrects the old manners, and consequently its having ever been prevalent, was owing to the causes to which I have attributed it.

THERE is another point of manners somewhat connected with the present subject, which partly induced me to place a motto at the head of this section. It is the conduct of juries; the criminal law of Ireland is the same as that of England, but in the execution it is so different as scarcely to be known. I believe it is a fact, at least I have been assured so, that no man was ever hanged in Ireland for killing another in a duel: the security is such that nobody ever thought of removing out of the way of justice, yet there have been deaths of that sort, which had no more to do with *honour* than stabbing in the dark. I believe Ireland is the only country in Europe, I am sure it is the only part of the British dominions, where associations among men of fortune are necessary for apprehending ravishers. It is scarcely credible how many young women have even of late years been carried off and ravished, in order (as they generally have fortunes) to gain to appearance a voluntary marriage. These actions it is true are not committed by the class I am considering at present; but they are tried by them, and **ACQUITTED**. I think there has been only one man executed for that crime, which is so common as to occasion the associations I mentioned: it is to this supine execution of the law that such enormities are owing. Another circumstance, which has the effect of screening all
sorts

forts of offenders, is men of fortune protecting them, and making interest for their acquittal, which is attended with a variety of evil consequences. I heard it boasted in the county of Fermanagh, that there had not been a man hanged in it for two and twenty years; all I concluded from this was, that there had been many a jury who deserved it richly.

LET me, however, conclude what I have to observe on the conduct of the principal people residing in Ireland, that there are great numbers among them who are as liberal in all their ideas as any people in Europe; that they have seen the errors which have given an ill character to the manners of their country, and done every thing that example could effect to produce a change: that that happy change has been partly effected, and is effecting every hour, insomuch that a man may go into a vast variety of families, which he will find actuated by no other principles than those of the most cultivated politeness, and the most liberal urbanity.

BUT I must now come to another class of people, to whose conduct it is almost entirely owing, that the character of the nation has not that lustre abroad, which I dare assert, it will soon very generally merit: this is the class of little country gentlemen*; tenants who drink their claret by means of profit rents; jobbers in farms; bucks; your fellows with round hats, edged with gold, who hunt in the day, get drunk in

* THIS expression is not to be taken in a general sense. God forbid I should give this character of all country gentlemen of small fortunes in Ireland: I have myself been acquainted with exceptions.—I mean only that in general they are not the most liberal people in the kingdom.

the evening, and fight the next morning. I shall not dwell on a subject so perfectly disagreeable, but remark that these are the men among whom drinking, wrangling, quarreling, fighting, ravishing, &c. &c. are found as in their native soil; once to a degree that made them the pest of society; they are growing better, but even now, one or two of them got by accident (where they have no business) into better company are sufficient very much to *derange* the pleasures that result from a liberal conversation. A new spirit; new fashions; new modes of politeness exhibited by the higher ranks are imitated by the lower, which will, it is to be hoped, put an end to this race of beings; and either drive their sons and cousins into the army or navy, or sink them into plain farmers like those we have in England, where it is common to see men with much greater property without pretending to be gentlemen. I repeat it from the intelligence I received, that even this class are very different from what they were twenty years ago, and improve so fast that the time will soon come when the national character will not be degraded by any set.

THAT character is upon the whole respectable: it would be unfair to attribute to the nation at large the vices and follies of only one class of individuals. Those persons from whom it is candid to take a general estimate do credit to their country. That they are a people learned, lively and ingenious, the admirable authors they have produced will be an eternal monument, witness their Swift, Sterne, Congreve, Boyle, Berkeley, Steele, Farquhar, Southerne, and Goldsmith. Their talent for eloquence is felt, and acknowledged in the parliaments of both the kingdoms. Our own service both

both by sea and land, as well as that (unfortunately for us) of the principal monarchies of Europe speak their steady and determined courage. Every unprejudiced traveller who visits them will be as much pleased with their cheerfulness, as obliged by their hospitality, and will find them a brave, polite, and liberal people.

SECTION XVIII.

Corn Trade of Ireland.—Bounty on Inland Carriage.

THE police of corn in Ireland is almost confined to one of the most singular measures that have any where been adopted, which is giving a bounty on the inland carriage of corn from all parts of the kingdom, to the capital. Before it is fully explained, it will be necessary to state the motives that were the inducement to it.

DUBLIN, it was asserted from the peculiarity of its situation, on the eastern extremity of the kingdom, without any inland navigations leading to it, was found to be in point of consumption more an English than an Irish city, in corn almost as much as in coals. The import of corn and flour drained the kingdom of great sums at the same time that the supply was uncertain and precarious. It was farther asserted that tillage was exceedingly neglected in Ireland, to the impoverishment of the kingdom, and the misery of the poor. That if some measure could be struck out at once to remedy those two evils, it would be of singular advantage to the community.

THIS reasoning furnished the hint to a gentleman there of very considerable abilities, now high in office, to plan the measure I am speaking of. It has been perfected by repeated acts giving a bounty on

5 cwt.	or	40 stone	Flour	3d. per mile.
ditto	—	ditto	Malt	2½d. ditto.
ditto	—	ditto	Wheat	1½d. ditto.
ditto	—	ditto	Oats	1d. ditto.
ditto	—	ditto	Bere	1½d. ditto.
ditto	—	ditto	Barley	1½d. ditto.

OATMEAL the same as oats; the ten first miles from Dublin are deducted: it amounts, as has been found by experience, to near twenty per cent. more for flour than the real expence of carriage, and one and a half per cent. more for wheat. In consequence of this act many of the finest mills for grinding corn that are to be found in the world were erected, some of which have been built upon such a scale, as to have cost near 20,000l. The effect has been considerable in extending tillage, and great quantities of the produce are carried to Dublin. Before I offer any observations on this system, it will be necessary to insert such tables as are necessary to explain the extent, effect, and expence of the measure which took place in 1762, and in 1776 and 1777, arose to above 60,000l. In order to see what the import was before that period, and also what it was before the bounty was in full play, as well as since, the following table will have its use.

IMPORT

IMPORT OF CORN AND FLOUR.

Average from 1744 to 1749,	Qrs.	£.
of Barley and Malt, —	51,023	Value 51 023
Ditto, Wheat, —	29,492	Value 44,238
	Cwt.	£.
Ditto, Flour, —	37,368	Value 18,684

Average from 1750 to 1756,	Qrs.	£.
of Barley and Malt, —	73,027	Value 73 027
Ditto, Wheat, —	28,994	Value 43,491
	Cwt.	£.
Ditto, Flour, —	72,196	Value 35,098

Average from 1757 to 1763,	Qrs.	£.
of Barley and Malt, —	35,742	Value 35,743
Ditto, Wheat, —	15,741	Value 23,612
	Cwt.	£.
Ditto, Flour, —	46,481	Value 23,382

Average from 1764 to 1770,	Qrs.	£.
of Barley and Malt, —	28,205	Value 29,643
Ditto, Wheat, —	21,059	Value 34,698
	Cwt.	£.
Ditto, Flour, —	62,856	Value 32,667

Average from 1771 to 1777,	Qrs.	£.
of Barley and Malt, —	19,538	Value 23,330
Ditto, Wheat, —	12,402	Value 25,242
	Cwt.	£.
Ditto, Flour, —	47,697	Value 28,446*

* MS. Communicated by the Right Hon. John Beresford, first commissioner of the revenue in Ireland.

BARLEY AND MALT.

	Qrs.	£.
Average import of the first period,	51,023	51,023
Second ditto, ———	73,027	73,027
Third ditto, ———	35,742	35,743
Fourth ditto, ———	28,205	29,643
Fifth ditto, ———	19,538	23,339

WHEAT.

	Qrs.	£.
Average of the first period, —	29,492	44,238
Second ditto, — — —	28,994	43,491
Third ditto, ———	15,741	23,612
Fourth ditto, ———	21,059	34,698
Fifth ditto, — — —	12,402	25,242

FLOUR.

	Cwt	£.
Average of the first period, —	37,368	18,684
Second period, — — —	72,196	36,098
Third ditto, — — —	46,481	23,382
Fourth ditto, — — —	62,856	32,667
Fifth ditto, — — —	47,697	28,446

Average value of the three commodities in the three first periods, —	£.
Ditto of the two last, — — —	116,436
	71,013

The import in the last fourteen years is less than in the preceding twenty, by —	} 45,423
---	----------

Import of the fourth period, —	97,008
Ditto of the fifth, being the period in which the bounty hath taken full effect, —	} 77,018

Difference, — — —	19,990
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THESE authentic comparisons differ most surprisingly from the assertions that have been made to me in conversation. I was led to believe that Dublin was no longer fed with English corn and flour, and that the difference of the import since the bounty took effect was not less than 200,000l. a year. What those assertions could mean is to me perfectly ænigmatical. Have the gentlemen, who are fast friends to this measure, never taken the trouble to examine these papers? Has the business been so often before parliament, and committees of parliament, without having been particularly sifted? We here find that the import into Ireland of foreign barley and malt, wheat and flour have lessened in the last seven years, compared with the preceding seven years, no more than to the amount of about 20,000l. I read with attention the report of Mr. Forster's committee in 1774, the purport of which was to establish the principles whereon this bounty was given, but as the whole of that performance turns on a comparison of fifteen years before 1758, and fifteen years after, though itself contains a declaration (page 7) that the great effect of the measure then concerned only the three last years, very little information of consequence is to be drawn from it, since it assigns a merit to the measure while it admits none could flow from it, nor does the whole report contain one syllable of the decrease in the export of pasturage, which ought to have been minutely examined. But in order that we may have the whole corn trade before us, let me insert the import of other sorts of corn.

Average from 1757 to 1763,	Bar.	£.
of Wheat Meal, —	18	Value 22
Ditto, Oatmeal, —	2,545	Value 848
	Qrs.	£.
Ditto, Beans and Pease, —	414	Value 373
Ditto, Oats, —	883	Value 529

Average from 1764 to 1770,	Bar.	£.
of Wheat Meal, —	2,355	Value 3,546
Ditto, Oatmeal, —	202	Value 67
	Qrs.	£.
Ditto, Beans and Pease, —	610	Value 566
Ditto, Oats, —	692	Value 416

Average from 1771 to 1777,	Bar.	£.
of Wheat Meal, —	1,492	Value 2,238
Ditto, Oatmeal, —	4,695	Value 1,644
	Qrs.	£.
Ditto, Beans and Pease, —	1,757	Value 2067
Ditto, Oats, —	425	Value 303*

Value of the import per annum of these ar-	£.
ticles in the last seven years, —	6,252
Ditto in the preceding seven years, —	4,595
Increase, —	<u>1,657</u>

Here therefore we find that instead of a decrease in the import the contrary has taken place,

*MS. communicated by the Right Hon. Isaac Barre.

Recapitu-

CORN TRADE.

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Recapitulation of the total Value of Corn, Flour, &c.
imported.

	l.		l.
In the year 1757	136,860	In the year 1764	126,346
1758	121,662	1765	99,190
1759	27,058	1766	103,898
1760	55,694	1767	133,608
1761	49,629	1768	42,297
1762	89,919	1769	18,776
1763	109,765	1770	*187,119
Average of 7 years,	84,369	Average of 7 years,	101,604

	l.		l.
In the year 1771	265,897	In the year 1775	29,371
1772	91,141	1776	42,788
1773	22,780	1777	105,559
1774	25,348	Average of 7 years,	84,697

	l.
Second period,	—
Last seven years,	—
	101,604
	84,697
Decrease,	—
	16,907

HERE is the result of the whole import account ; the balance of which in favour of the nation is no more than this trifling sum of sixteen thousand pounds. The account, however, must be farther examined ; we must take the export side of the question, for there has been an export notwithstanding this great import.

* THE Dublin Society were not very accurate, when in their petition to parliament they set forth, that in two years preceding 1771 the import amounted to *upwards* of 600,000l.

We

We see something of this in the register of our English corn trade, where is a considerable speculative commerce in corn; but as no such thing exists in Ireland, where the corn trade is a simple import of a necessary of life, it is a little surprizing if any great export appears. Let us, however, examine the account.

Average Value of all the Corn exported from 1757 to 1763.

C O R N.					
	l.			l.	
Barley,	—	2,835	Oats,	—	4,097
Beans,	—	413	Pease,	—	38
Malt,	—	451	Rye,	—	73
Meslin,	—		Wheat,	—	1,007

Average from 1757 to 1763. FLOUR AND MEAL,

	1.		1.
Flour,	—	Oatmeal,	—
Groat,	—	156 Wheat,	—
Totals,		14,894.	

Average from 1764 to 1770.

C O R N.					
	l.			l.	
Barley,	—	4,161	Oats,	—	11,490
Beans,	—	416	Pease,	—	142
Malt,	—	1,405	Rye,	—	34
Meslin,	—	9	Wheat,	—	2,720

Average from 1764 to 1770. FLOUR AND MEAL.

	—	1,929	Oatmeal,	—	13,890
Flour,	—		Wheat,	—	37
Groat,	—	62			
		Totals,	36,299.		

Average

CORN TRADE.

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Average from 1771 to 1777.

CORN.

	l.		l.
Barley, —	5,932	Oats, —	25,971
Beans, —	590	Pease, —	143
Malt, —	253	Rye, —	57
Meslin, —		Wheat, —	10,432

Average from 1771 to 1777. FLOUR AND MEAL.

	l.		l.
Flour, —	4,634	Oat, —	17,075
Groat, —	48	Wheat, —	19
Total, 64,871 *.			

Exported in the last seven years, per ann.	64,871
Ditto in the seven preceding	36,299
Increase	28,572

BUT as the preceding table includes the export from all the ports in the kingdom, I have inserted it as an object of general information, not as immediately necessary to the enquiry before us, which concerns the port of Dublin only. A measure which draws the corn to that capital from all the ports in the kingdom, can never promote an export from them, but must operate in a contrary manner: for this reason I have drawn the export of the port of Dublin from the general tables for twenty-one years, and find the averages of the three periods, each of seven years, to be in va-

* DRAWN from the totals of the export tables in the MS. communicated by Colonel Barre.

Due as follows: the table itself is too voluminous to insert.

	l.	s.	d.
Exported in the first 7 years, per ann.	2,692	5	0
second ditto, — —	3,978	2	0
last ditto, — —	7,550	9	0
The last period greater than preceding by	3,572	7	0

Which sum is the profit to be carried to the account of the inland carriage bounty.

I must here observe, that there was a bounty given on exportation, which took place the 24th of June, 1774, viz. 3s. 2d. on the quarter of wheat, ground wheat, meal, or wheat flour. 2s. 4d. on the quarter of rye, pease or beans ground or unground. 1s. 3d. on the quarter of oats, which act declares the half quarter of wheat, rye, pease, beans, meal, &c. shall be 224 lb. barley and malt were left out to ensure the acts passing in England.

The following sessions an additional duty on import was laid of 2s. a barrel on all wheat, and 1s. per hundred weight on all flour, meal, bread, and biscuit, except of the produce of or manufacture of Great Britain, to be levied when the middle price of wheat at the port where imported shall exceed 23s. English, the barrel of 280 lb. The old duty on wheat was 2d. per barrel; on flour 1s. from all ports, Great Britain included.

Decrease in the import of the last 7 years	-	16,907
Increase in the export from Dublin	—	3,572
Total gain per annum according to this account in the last seven years	— —	20,479

THE

THE reader is not to imagine from hence, that the corn trade of Ireland yields a balance of profit; the advantage to be attributed to the bounty from this account is only a *lessening* of loss, as will appear from the following state of export and import over the whole kingdom.

IMPORT AND EXPORT COMPARED IN VALUE.

Average from 1757 to 1763.

Import,	—	l. 84,369	Balance.	Profit,	l. 654
Export,	—	14,894	Balance.	Loss,	70,129

Average from 1764 to 1770.

Import,	—	l. 101,604	Balance.	Profit,	l. 11,533
Export,	—	36,299	Balance.	Loss,	76,838

Average from 1771 to 1777.

Import,	—	l. 83,270	Balance.	Profit,	l. 26,746
Export,	—	64,871	Balance.	Loss,	45,144

Loss per annum in the middle seven years, l. 76,838

Gain ditto, — — — — 11,533

Neat loss per annum, — — — — 65,305

Loss per annum in the last seven years, — 45,144

Gain ditto, — — — — 26,746

Neat loss per annum, — — — — 18,398

It is a reduction of the loss of 65,000 down to 18,000.

HAVING thus discovered the advantage of the measure, let us in the next place examine, at what expence this benefit has been obtained. The following table shews the payments of the bounty to each county, the totals, the stones of corn, and the cwts. of flour brought.

An ACCOUNT of the Sums paid as Bounties on the Inland Carriage of Corn to Dublin. From the Beginning to 1777.

	1762.	1763.
Totals.	l. 4,940	l. 5,096
	1,730,869 ft.	1,592,418 ft.
	1764.	1765.
Totals.	l. 5,483	l. 6,660
	1,622,933 ft.	1,409,726 ft.
	1766.	1767.
Totals.	l. 9,212	l. 6,074
	1,464,296 ft.*	945,289 ft.*

* Flour included.

1768.

INLAND BOUNTY. 235

	1768.	1769.
Totals.	l. 13,675	l. 25,225
	2,148,805 ft.*	2,608,910 ft. 107,986 Ct.
	1770.	1771.
Totals.	l. 18,706	l. 19,290
	1,920,978 ft. 79,350 Ct.	1,641,867 ft. 87,965 Ct.
	1772.	1773.
Totals.	l. 39,560	l. 44,465
	3,146,960 ft. 153,139 Ct.	3,263,199 ft. 175,177 Ct.
	1774.	1775.
Totals.	l. 49,674	l. 53,889
	3,553,996 ft. 190,346 Ct.	3,211,214 ft. 213,885 Ct.
	1776.	1777.
Totals.	l. 60,745	l. 61,786
	3,622,076 255,256 Ct.	3,240,692 ft. 317,753 Ct.**

** TAKEN from the Journals of the House of Commons. In 1778, the total payment was 77,533l. and in 1779, 67,864l. besides 2,500l. for coastways, a new bounty.

256 INLAND BOUNTY.

Total payment	l.	Total payment	
1764	5,483	1771	19,290
1765	6,660	1772	39,560
1766	9,212	1773	44,465
1767	6,074	1774	49,674
1768	13,675	1775	53,889
1769	25,225	1776	60,745
1770	18,706	1777	61,786
Paid in 7 years 85,038		Paid in 7 years 329,413	
Which is, per annum, 12,148		Which is, per annum 47,059	

If therefore the account was to be closed here, it appears that forty-seven thousand pounds per annum, have been given of the public money for a gain in the export and import account of corn of twenty thousand pounds a year. Surely this is paying very dear for it!—but the account does not end here.

From this table the reader finds, that the bounty has been continually rising, until it has exceeded sixty thousand pounds a year. It also appears, that the increase of tillage has been chiefly in the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Carlow, Meath, Kildare, King's, Wexford, Queen's, and Limerick, as will appear by contrasting the first and the last years of those counties with the particular sums paid to each.

	1762	1777
Counties.	l.	l.
Kilkenny,	2,079	20,816
Tipperary,	191	9,862
Carlow,	160	2,479
Meath,		

INLAND BOUNTY. 257

Counties.	l.	l.
	1762	1777
Meath, —	506	4,594
Kildare, —	748	3,485
King's, —	447	3,161
Wexford, —	33	4,952
Queen's, —	651	3,161
Roscommon, —	12	1,740

AND Limerick arose from nothing at all to 2773l. in the year 1776; from hence one fact clearly appears, that the increase of tillage has by no means been in the poor counties, by breaking up uncultivated lands; on the contrary, it has been entirely in the richest counties in the kingdom, which confirms the intelligence I received on the journey, that it was good sheep land that had principally been tilled. The bounty to Tipperary, Carlow and Roscommon, once the greatest sheep counties in Ireland, was insignificant at the beginning of the measure, but has at last become very great. This circumstance, so essential in the subject, renders it absolutely necessary to enlarge our enquiry, that we may examine, as well as our materials will permit, whether any national loss, as well as profit, has resulted from converting so much rich pasture land into tillage; and in order to do this, it will be necessary to lay before the reader the exports of the produce of pasturage from Ireland, during these two periods of seven years each, which serve us for a comparison.

258 PASTURAGE EXPORTS.

An Account of the Export of the Produce of Pasturage
from 1753 to 1777*.

Average from 1753 to 1759.

Barrels of beef	162,034	No. hides	142,033
Ct. butter	203,569	Ct. tallow	22,118

Average from 1764 to 1770.

Barrels of beef	200,799	Ct. tallow	49,976
Ct. butter	201,510	Cows, bulls, and	
Ct. candles	4,284	horses	2,127
No. hides	124,604	Ct. cheese	3,341

Average from 1771 to 1777.

Barrels of beef	195,605	Ct. tallow	44,919
Ct. butter	267,212	Cows, bulls, and	
Ct. candles	2,280	horses	4,040
No. hides	121,963	Ct. cheese	2,122

THE prices of all these commodities must be ascertained, in order to discover the increase or decrease of value.

THE custom-house price of beef is 1l. 6s. 8d. per barrel; but I find that the average price at Waterford, from 1764 to 1776, was 16s. per cwt. or 1l. 12s. the barrel. The custom-house rate of butter is 2l. per

* THE first seven years from the commons journals, the last fourteen from the parliamentary records of import and export. MS.
cwt.

PRICES OF PRODUCTS. 259

cwt. but by the same authority, I find the real price on an average of the last fourteen years to be 2l. 5s. 6d. Candles at the custom-house, 1l. 15s. per cwt. the real price 2l. 10s. Tallow at the custom-house, 2l. the true price 2l. 4s. 6d.

Average price of four and a half hundred beef per hundred weight.

Year	1756	1757	1758	1759	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764	1765	1766	Year	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771	1772	1773	1774	1775	1776
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	12	11	12	11	12	12	12	13	13	14	16		17	13	15	16	16	16	16	18	18	0
	3	6	0	6	6	6	0	0	6	0	0		0	0	0	0	6	0	6	0	0	0

Average of the last 13 Years, 16s.

S 2

Shipping

Shipping Prices of Butter, Tallow, Candles, and Pork, in Waterford, from the Year 1764 to 1777, both inclusive*.

	Butter per Cwt.		Tallow per Cwt.		Candles per Cwt.		Pork per barrel.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
In the year 1764	43	36	31	30	41	40	40	0
1765	36	38	39	40	40	41	38	0
1766	38	35	42	41	47	48	38	0
1767	47	38	43	44	49	50	43	0
1768	38	42	44	43	51	52	45	0
1769	42	53	44	45	54	53	42	0
1770	45	48	42	40	54	53	41	0
1771	57	48	44	43	53	54	44	0
1772	54	48	46	45	54	56	45	0
1773	56	44	44	43	54	52	53	0
1774	50	40	40	43	54	55	58	0
1775	53	44	40	40	50	51	42	0
1776	53	43	41	40	50	51	49	0
1777	58	55	41	43	51	52	66	0
Average, —	45	6	44	6	50	0	49	0

Those are the prices as they appeared at the beginning and at the end of the year.

* MS. Communicated by Cornelius Bolton, Esq, member for that city.

PRICES OF PRODUCTS PASTURAGE EXPORT. 261

Third Period.
Prices of Ox Hides of 112 lb. from the Year 1756 to 1776, both inclusive.

Years	l.	s.	d.	Years	l.	s.	d.	Years	l.	s.	d.
1756	1	7	0	1763	0	19	6	1770	1	8	0
1757	1	7	0	1764	0	18	6	1771	1	4	0
1758	1	2	0	1765	1	4	0	1772	1	1	0
1759	1	1	0	1766	1	5	0	1773	1	3	0
1760	1	0	6	1767	1	6	0	1774	1	10	0
1761	1	2	6	1768	1	8	6	1775	1	13	0
1762	1	2	0	1769	1	11	0	1776	1	14	0

The real price of hides I was disappointed in at Corke, must therefore take that of the custom-house, which is 1l. 13s. 4d. tanned, and 1l. 5s. untanned; as more of the latter, I shall suppose 1l. 8s. on an average. Of the cows, bullocks, and horses, I have no authority, shall therefore guess them at 5l. on an average. Cheese at the custom-house, 1l. per cwt.

TOTAL EXPORTS OF PASTURAGE.

First Period.

Per ann.

Export of beef from 1753 to 1759, 162,034 barrels, at 1l. 12s.	259,254
Ditto butter, 203,569 cwt. at 2l. 5s. 6d.	463,119
Ditto hides, 142,033, at 1l. 8s.	198,845
Ditto tallow 22,118 cwt. at 2l. 4s. 6d.	49,211

Average export of the first seven years, 970,429

Second Period.

Beef from 1764 to 1770, 200,799 barrels, at 1l. 12s.	321,277
Butter, 281,510 cwt. at 2l. 5s. 6d.	640,434
Candles, 4284 cwt. at 2l. 10s.	10,710
Hides, 124,604, at 1l. 8s.	174,445
Tallow, 49,976 cwt. at 2l. 4s. 6d.	111,196
Live stock, 1,127, at 5l.	10,635
Cheese, 3,341 cwt. at 1l.	3,341

Average export of the second seven years, 1,272,038

262 PASTURAGE EXPORTS

Third Period.		
Beef from 1771 to 1777.	195,605 barrels, at 1l. 12s.	312,067
Butter,	267,212 cwt. at 2l. 5s. 6d.	607,907
Candles,	2,280 cwt. at 2l. 10s.	5,610
Hides,	121,963, at 1l. 8s.	1170,747
Tallow,	44,919 cwt. at 2l. 4s. 6d.	99,943
Live stock,	4,040, at 5l.	20,200
Cheese,	2,122 cwt. at 1l.	2,122
Average export of the last seven years,		1,218,902
Second period greater than the first by		301,609
Second period greater than the last by		53,136

THE second period being greater than the first by near three hundred thousand pounds, and Ireland having been throughout all three periods on the advance in prosperity, it follows that the increase should have continued, had not some other reason interfered, and occasioned, instead of a similar increase of three hundred thousand pounds, a falling off of above fifty thousand. I cannot suppose that the increase of tillage did all this; I should suppose that impossible. Most of these commodities are certainly consumed at home, which perhaps may account for there being no increase; but the increase of tillage must inevitably have had its share, and it is assigning a very moderate one to it, to suppose the amount no more than this decrease of fifty thousand pounds a year. We come next to sheep, and the exports which depend on them. The following table shews the whole at one view.

Average from 1764 to 1770.		
Wool	18,976 stone at 14s. od. per,	13,283l.
Woollen yarn	8,458 — at 17s. 6d. per,	7,399l.
Worsted yarn	142,889 — at 40s. od. per,	285,779l.
Total 170,038 stones.		Total value 306,461l.
Average from 1771 to 1777.		
Wool	1,415 stone at 14s. od. per,	990l.
Woollen yarn	1,459 — at 17s. 6d. per,	1,301l.
Worsted yarn	99,060 — at 40s. od. per,	198,121l.
Total 101,934 stones.		Total value 200,412l.

* The quantities taken from the Parliament Records of Import and Export, MS. and the value added.

WOOLLEN EXPORTS 263

In the last century the quantity of wool, &c. was much larger, indeed it was so great, as will appear from the following table, as to form a considerable proportion of the kingdom's exports.

	Wool. stones.	Yarn. stones.
Year 1687	256,592	3,668
1697	217,678	13,480
1700	336,292	26,617
1701	302,812	23,390
1702	315,473	43,148
1703	360,862	36,873
1711	310,136	55,273
1712	263,946	60,108
1713	171,871	68,548
1711	147,153	58,147

RELATIVE to the prices I have charged, the following table is the authority.

Market Prices of Wool in the Fleece, per Stone of sixteen Pounds; and of Bay Yarn, per Pack, containing fourteen great Stones, of eighteen Pounds each.

	Wool per stone.		Bay yarn per pack.		
	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Year 1764	11	0	26	5	0
1765	10	0	24	13	6
1766	11	0	25	4	0
1767	13	0	27	6	0
1768	13	6	26	5	0
1769	13	6	26	15	6
1770	14	0	26	15	6
1771	14	0	26	15	6
1772	*	0	28	7	0
1773	*	0	27	6	0
1774	14	0	25	4	0
1775	16	0	29	8	0
1776	16	6	30	9	0
1777	17	6	30	9	0
Average is nearly	14	0	27	4	5

* Unsettled, but very high. The pack of bay yarn is taken to contain 2100 lbains.

264 WOOLLEN EXPORTS.

WOOL is here rated at the market price for combing wool rough in the fleece, but no estimate can be formed from this upon what has been exported, the small quantities whereof have been for the most part wool upon skins or coarse fells, which must have come much lower than the prices herein mentioned.

WOOLLEN yarn for export has not been an article for sale in Ireland; what has been sent out was directly from the manufacturer, I presume in very small quantities, and from the port of Corke only.

WORSTED, or bay yarn, is sent principally to Norwich and Manchester, it sells by the skain in Ireland, but in the preceding table it is rated by the pack; the cost at market is only noticed, the necessary charges on shipping amount to full two per cent. exclusive of commission, which is two per cent. more.

Wool, woollen, and bay yarn, are exported by the great stone, containing eighteen pounds weight. A licence for exporting must be procured from the Lord Lieutenant, the cost of which is nearly fourpence halfpenny per stone*. From comparing the prices at different periods, exported woollen yarn may pretty safely be rated at seventeen shillings and sixpence per stone, of which five shillings a stone is labour.

		1.
Exported value in the first period,	-	306,462
Ditto in the last,	-	200,413
		<hr/>
Decrease,	-	106,049
		<hr/>

* Communicated with the preceding table by Mr. Joshua Pine, in the yarn trade. The custom-house price of wool is 15s. woollen yarn, 17s. and worsted yarn, 11. 13s 4d.

WHO-

THE EXPORT OF PORK 265

WHOEVER recurs to the minutes of the journey, in the counties of Carlow, Tipperary, and Roscommon, the great sheep-walks of Ireland, will have no reason to be surprized at the loss of one hundred thousand pounds a year. There are yet other subjects so connected with the present enquiry, that in order to have a clear and distinct idea of it, we must include in the account. I think it fair to give tillage credit for any increase there may be in pork, bacon, lard, hogs, and bread; it is true they do not entirely belong to it, for dairies yield much; but to obviate objections, I will suppose them totally connected with tillage. The following table includes all these articles.

Average from 1753 to 1759.		
Export of Pork	30,542 *	barrels.
Average from 1764 to 1770.		
Export of Pork	41,649	barrels.
— — — — — Bacon	7,881	fitches.
— — — — — Lard	1,869	Cwt.
— — — — — Bread	7,197	Cwt.
Average from 1771 to 1777.		
Export of Pork	55,240	barrels.
— — — — — Bacon	19,125	fitches.
— — — — — Lard	2,356	Cwt.
— — — — — Bread	10,062	Cwt.
— — — — — Hogs	624 †	

Export of pork per annum, from 1764 to 1770, l.		
41,649 barrels, at 2l. 6s. 6d. per barrel **,		96,833
Bacon, 788 cwt. at 15s. per cwt. †	—	5,910
Lard, 1869 cwt. at 1l. per cwt. †	—	1,869
Bread, 7197 cwt. at 10s. per cwt.	—	3,598
Hogs, 223, at 15s. a piece ††,	—	166
Average export of seven years,		108,376

* Journals of the House of Commons. † Parliament Record of Export and Import, MS. ** Waterford price. † Custom House price. †† Supposed at that rate for want of authority.

Export

266 BOUNTY ACCOUNTS.

Exports of pork per annum, from 1771 to 1777,	
55,240 barrels, at 2l. 6s. 6d. per barrel,	128,435
Bacon, 19,125, at 15s.	14,343
Lard, 2356 cwt. at 1l. per cwt.	2,356
Bread, 10,062 cwt. at 10s. per cwt.	5,031
Hogs, 624, at 15s. a piece,	468

Average exports of the last seven years, 150,633

Increase in the last seven years, — 42,255

THE data are now very completely before the reader, from which the merit of this extraordinary measure may be estimated. I will not assert that any custom-house accounts are absolutely authentic; I know the common objections to them, and that there is a foundation for those objections; but the point of consequence in the present enquiry does not depend on their *absolute*, but comparative accuracy; that is to say, if the errors objected to them exist, they will be found as great in one period as in another, consequently their authority is perfectly competent for the comparison of different ones. Whoever will examine the entries with a minute attention, and compare them with a variety of other circumstances, will generally be able to distinguish the suspicious articles. In the present enquiry, I will venture to assert that they speak truth, for they correspond exactly (as I shall by and by shew) with many other causes, which could hardly have failed without a miracle of producing the effects they display. I should further add, that on the greatest number of the articles inserted in the preceding tables there are duties paid on the export which exempt them from the common objection to the entries. But to reason against the accuracy of such accounts is perfectly useless while ministers in defence of their measures, and patriots in opposition to them, found their

argu-

BOUNTY ACCOUNTS. 267

arguments on them alone. Whoever attends either the English or Irish house of commons will presently see this in a multiplicity of instances. All who come to the bar of those houses, depend on these accounts; committees of parliament rely on them, and the best political writers of every period, from Child and Davenant to Campbell and Whitworth, have agreed in the same conduct, knowing the errors to which they are liable; but knowing also that there is no better authority, and that they are perfectly competent to comparisons.

HAVING thus closed my authorities, I shall now draw them into one view, by stating the account of the inland carriage bounty, debtor and creditor.

Dr. Bounty on the Inland Carriage of Corn. Cr.

1.	1.
Topayments of public money on the average of the last 7 years, — 47,059	By decrease in the import of corn, &c. — 16,907
To decrease in the export of beef, butter, &c. — 53,136	By increase in the export of corn, 3,570
To decrease in the export of wool and yarn, — 106,049	By increase in the export of pork, hogs, bread, &c. 42,255
	62,732
	Balance against the bounty, — 143,510
206,244	206,244

Thus far I have laid before the reader a connected chain of such facts as the records of the measure, and the parliamentary accounts would permit: it appears

as clearly as the testimony of figures can speak, that it has had very ill effects upon the general national account. Had the effect we have seen taken place of itself without any artificial means to assist it, the friends of the public would perhaps have been well employed to remedy the evil: how absurd therefore must it appear to find that it has been brought about with the utmost care and assiduity, and at an expence of near fifty thousand pounds a year of the public money!

It is the intention and effect of this bounty to turn every local advantage, and natural supply topsy turvy. We have had for several years in England, an importation of foreign corn more than proportioned (the kingdoms compared) to any thing the Irish knew. If any one to remedy this, proposed a bounty on bringing corn by land from Devonshire and Northumberland, so as to give it a preference in the London market to that of Kent and Essex, with what contempt would the proposition be treated! the corn counties of Louth and Kildare in the vicinity of Dublin are not to supply that market, but it is to eat its bread from Corke and Wexford!

It must also be brought by land carriage! the absurdity and folly with which such an idea is pregnant in a country blessed with such ports, and such a vast extent of coast, are so glaring that it is amazing that sophistry could blind the legislature to such a degree as to permit a second thought of it. Why not carry the corn in ships, as well as tear up all the roads leading to Dublin by cars? Why not increase your sailors instead of horses? Are they not as profitable an anti-

In 1774 we imported to the value of 1,023,000l. and in 1775 10 that of 1,265,562.

mal?

mal? If you must have an inland bounty, why not to the nearest port from which it could be carried with the most ease, and at the least expence to Dublin? This would have answered the same end. The pretence for the measure was the great import of foreign corn at Dublin; this is granting that there was a great demand at Dublin; and can any one suppose that if the corn was forced to Corke or Wexford, it would not find the way to such a demand as easily as from the east of England, which is the only part of that kingdom which abounds with corn for exportation? But the very pretence was a falsehood, for with what regard to truth could it be asserted that Dublin was fed with English corn before this measure took effect, when it appears by the preceding accounts, that the import of the whole kingdom, from 1757 to 1763 was only 84,000l. a year, and from 1764 to 1770 no more than 101,604l.? This import account does not distinguish like the export one, the ports at which the foreign corn was received; if it did, I should in all probability find but a moderate part of this total belonging to Dublin, as it is very well known that in the north there is always a considerable import of oatmeal. Granting, however, the evil, still the plan of remedying it by a land carriage of 130 miles was absurd to the last degree. But suppose so considerable a city as Dublin did import foreign corn to a large amount, is it wise to think this so great a national evil, that all the principles of common policy are to be wounded in order to remedy it? Where is the country to be found that is free from considerable importations even of the product of land? Has not Ireland a prodigious export of her soil's produce in the effects of pasturage, for which her climate is singularly adapted? And while she has that of what title

account

account is a trifling import of corn to feed her capital city! We have seen the undoubted loss that has accrued to the nation from a violent endeavour to counteract this import, yet the measure has only lessened it to an inconsiderable degree.

I was at a mill on Corke harbour above 120 miles from Dublin, and saw cars loading for that market on the bounty, with a ship laying at the mill quay bound for Dublin, and waiting for a loading; could invention suggest any scheme more preposterous than thus to confound at the public expence all the ideas of common practice, and common sense! By means of this measure I have been assured it has happened that the flour of Slaine mills has found its way to Carlow, and that of Laughlin Bridge to Drogheda; that is to say, Mr. Jebb eats his bread of Captain Mercer's flour, and the latter makes his pudding with Mr. Jebb's assistance; they live 100 miles asunder, and the public pays the piper while the flour dances the hay in this manner.

THE vast difference between the expence of land and water carriage should ever induce the legislature, though sailors were not in question, to encourage the latter rather than the former. From Corke there is paid bounty, 5s. 6^d. yet the freight at 10s. a ton is only 6d. The bounty from Laughlin bridge is 2s. 3^d. yet Captain Mercer pays in summer but 1s. 4d. and in winter no more than 1s. 6d. Mr. Moore at Marlefield receives 4s. bounty, but his carriage costs him only 2s. 6d. in summer, and 3s. in winter; hence therefore we find that the bounty more than pays the expence, and that the profit is in proportion to the distance, i. e. the absurdity.

IN

INLAND BOUNTY. 271

In the year ending September, 1777, there were
34,598 barrels of malt brought from Wexford to
Dublin by land, receiving 7,077l. 4s. 11d. bounty.

34,598 barrels are 51,897 cwt. which
at 6 cwt. per horse would take

for one day, - - - 8,649 horses.

From Wexford to Dublin and back

takes seven days, or - - 60,546 horses.

One man to two horses, - - 30,273 men.

		l.	s.	d.
The horses at 16d. a day,	-	-	4,306	8 0

Men, at 9d. a day,	-	-	1,135	4 9
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Seven days men and horses,	5,171	12 9
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The freight of which to Dublin at 8s.

a ton would be,	-	-	1,037	12 0
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Saving by sea *,	-	-	4,134	0 9
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It is therefore a loss of about 80 per cent. purchased
by the bounty.

In proportion as sailors are lessened horses are in-
creased. Suppose common coasting vessels navigated
at the rate of one man to twenty tons, it requires
sixty-six horses to draw that burthen, and thirty-three
men: so that for every sailor lost, there are above
threescore of this worst of all stock kept; which is of
itself an enormous national loss. If the number of
horses kept at actual work by this bounty, with the
mares, colts, &c. to supply them were known, it
might probably be found so large as to lessen a little

* MS. Communicated by ——— Nevill, Esq; member for
Wexford.

of

272 CORN TO DUBLIN.

of the veneration with which this measure is considered in Ireland.

I find that in the sessions of 1769 and 1771, there was a bounty paid on the carriage of corn coastways to Dublin. It amounted in the first to 3,278l. † and in the latter to 4,973l. ‡, the act lasted only these four years. It was an experiment which surely ought to have been continued; for if corn is to be forced to Dublin, this most certainly is the only rational way of doing it.

By the following table the amount of this coasting trade will be seen, with and without that bounty.

Corn and Flour brought Coastways to Dublin from
1758 to 1777.

Average of last 7 years.	
Wheat and Wheat Meal	3,508 barrels.
Bere and barley	49,178
Malt	19,457
Flour	320
Oats and Oatmeal	11,837
Total	84,301 *

† JUNE 1. 1768. 7th George III. Chap. 24.

4d. per Cwt. corn of Irish growth by water coastways to Dublin, southward between Wicklow and the Tuscar; north between Drogheda or Carrickfergus.

5d. per Cwt. if southward of Tuscar or north Carrickfergus;

4d. per Cwt. southward of Cooley point to Newry, Belfast, or Londonderry.

Continued to 24th June, 1771.

‡ MS. Account of public premiums communicated by the Right Hon. John Forster, member for the county of Louth.

* MS. Communicated by ——— Nevill, Esq; member for Wexford.

WITH

CONSUMPTION OF DUBLIN. 273

With the assistance of these particulars, united with the quantities on which the inland bounty is paid, given before, we shall be able to see the principal part of the consumption of the city of Dublin.

Brought by Land-carriage Bounty.

Average of seven years from 1771 to 1777.

Stones 3,097,143 Cwt. 199,074

By these accounts, Dublin on an average of the last seven years has consumed

3,097,143 Stones of corn,

199,074 Cwt. of Flour,

84,301 Barrels of both coastways.

If the average weight of the corn is 14 stone per barrel, the first of these articles

Will make in barrels, — — 221,224

The 199,074 Cwt. of flour may be called in

barrels of wheat, — — 180,000

Add the above barrels coastways, — 84,301

Total, 485,525

To this should be added the import of foreign corn, which is known to be considerably more than the export, and it will appear that if there are 150,000 inhabitants in Dublin, they must consume above three barrels each of all sorts of corn in a year, which considering that the mass of the people live very much upon potatoes is a great allowance, and suggests the idea either that the people are very numerous, or that more money is paid in bounties than there ought to be by the acts, which is probable.

I come now to consider one of the principal arguments used in favour of this measure. It is the increase of tillage being so beneficial to the kingdom. Taken as a general position there may, or may not be truth in the assertion: I am apt to think rather more stress is laid on it than ought to be, and some reasons for that opinion may be seen in *Political Arithmetic*, p. 363. &c. But not to enter into the general question at present, I have to observe two circumstances upon the state of Ireland; first the moisture of the climate, and secondly the sort of tillage introduced.

THAT the climate is far moister than that of England I have already given various reasons to conclude; but the amazing tendency of the soil to grass would prove it if any proof was wanting. Let General Cunningham and Mr. Silver Oliver recollect the instances they shewed me of turnip land, and stubble left without ploughing, and yielding the succeeding summer a full crop of hay. These are such facts as we have not an idea of in England. Nature therefore points out in the clearest manner, the application of the soil in Ireland most suitable to the climate. But this moisture which is so advantageous to grass, is pernicious to corn. The finest corn in Europe and the world is uniformly found in the driest countries; it is the weight of wheat which points out its goodness; which lessens per measure gradually from Barbary to Poland. The wheat of Ireland has no weight compared with that of dry countries; and I have on another occasion observed that there is not a sample of a good colour in the whole kingdom. The crops are full of grass and weeds, even in the best management, and the harvests are so wet and tedious as greatly to damage the produce; but at the same time, and for the

the same reason, cattle of all sorts look well; never failing of a full bite of excellent grass: the very driest summers do not affect the verdure as in England.

I do not make these observations, in order to conclude that tillage will not do in Ireland. I know it may be made to do; but I would leave the vibrations from corn to pasturage, and from pasturage to corn, to the cultivators of the land to guide themselves as prices and other circumstances direct, but by no means force an extended tillage at the expence of bounties.

WHAT is the tillage gained by this measure? It is that system which formed the agriculture of England two hundred years ago, and forms it yet in the worst of our common fields, but which all our exertions of enclosing and improving are bent to extirpate. 1. Fallow. 2. Wheat; and then spring corn until the soil is exhausted: or else, 1. Fallow. 2. Wheat. 3. Spring corn; and then fallow again. In this course the spring corn goes to horses, &c. the fallow is a dead loss, and the whole national gain the crop of wheat; one year in three yields nothing, and one a trifle, whereas the grass yields a full crop every year. Let it not be imagined, that waste and desert tracts, that wanted cultivation, are only turned to this tillage. Nine-tenths of the change is in the rich sheep walks of Roscommon, Tipperary, Carlow, and Kilkenny. I have already proved this fact; the question therefore is reduced to this: ought you to turn some of the finest pastures in the world, and which in Ireland yielded twenty shillings an acre, into the most execrable tillage that is to be found on the face of the globe? The comparison is not between good grass

and good tillage; it is *good* grass against *bad* tillage. The tables I inserted prove, that Ireland has lost fifty-three thousand pounds a year for seven years in the produce of cows and bullocks, and one hundred and six thousand pounds in that of sheep; this is a prodigious loss, but it is not the whole, there is the loss of labour on above fifty thousand stones of woollen yarn annually, which is a great drawback from the superior population supposed, perhaps falsely, to flow from tillage. When these circumstances are therefore well considered, the nation will not, I apprehend, be thought to have gained by having converted her rich sheep walks, which yielded so amply in wool, and in the labour which is annexed to wool, into so execrable a tillage as is universally introduced.

ANOTHER circumstance of this measure is, that of sacrificing all the ports of the kingdom to Dublin; the natural trade, which ought to take a variety of different little channels, proportioned to vicinity, was by this system violently drawn away to the capital; a very ill situated capital, the increase of which, at the expence of the out ports, was by no means a national advantage.

A question naturally arises from the premises before us; should the bounty be repealed? Absurd as it is, I am free to declare, I think not at once. Upon the credit of the measure great sums have been laid out in raising mills, most in situations which render them dependant on this forced trade for work. Great loss would accrue in this to individuals, and the public faith rather injured. The following table will shew that this is not a slight consideration.

THE

**The principal MILLS of IRELAND, from June 1773
to June 1774.**

		Cwt.
Marlefield,	- Stephen Moore, Esq;	15,382
Slane,	- D. Jebb, Esq; and Co.	11,070
Anner,	- Mr. J. Grub,	10,395
Rathnally,	- J. Nicholson, Esq;	9,870
Lodge,	- Richard Mercer, Esq;	9,826
Kilkarn,	- Wade and Williams	9,496
Carrick,	- D. Tighie, Esq;	6,996
Archer's Grove,	- Mr. W. Ratican,	5,503
Lock,	- Mr. H. Bready,	5,446
Ballykilcavan,	- Doyle and Hoskins,	5,395
Tyrone,	- H. O'Brien, Esq;	4,967
Newtown Barry,	- Hon. B. Barry,	4,574

THE most distant mill from Dublin is that of Barnahely, Corke, one hundred and thirty miles. A prodigious number of men and horses would be thrown at once out of employment, which would have bad effects; and a sudden diversion of that supply, which has now flowed to Dublin for so many years, would certainly have very ill consequences. The policy therefore to be embraced is this; lower the present bounty to the simple expence of the carriage, and no more; and counteract it by raising the bounty on the carriage of corn coastwise, until it rivalled and gradually put down the land carriage. Perhaps it might be necessary to accompany this measure with a land carriage bounty from the mill to the nearest exporting port, the Dublin bounty would therefore stand in order to prevent the evil of a sudden change, but when the other bounties had got so far into effect, as to lessen the old one considerably, then

it should be totally discontinued; and it would then certainly be proper for the other bounties (having performed their office) to be discontinued also. The present system is so undoubtedly absurd, that the rival bounties should be raised higher and higher until they had turned the commerce into the natural channel; an expression which I am sensible implies an apparent absurdity, for a natural channel of commerce does not want such bounties, but a bad proceeding has made it so exceedingly crooked, that a mere repeal, leaving the trade to itself, might not do. You must undo by art the mischief which art has done; the commercial capital in Ireland is too small to bear any violence.

UNITED with the conduct I have ventured to recommend, in case the tillage system was persisted in, it would be very well worth the attention of parliament, to annex such conditions to the payment of any new bounties, as might have the effect of securing a good tillage instead of a bad one. If it was found practicable, which I should think it might be, no public money should ever be given for barley, bere, or oats, that did not succeed turnips; nor for wheat, or rye, that did not follow beans, clover, or potatoes; by this means the nation would have the satisfaction of knowing, that if the plough was introduced in valuable pasture land, it would at least be in a good system.

BEFORE I conclude this subject, it may be proper to observe a circumstance, which however ill it may be received in England, has, and ought to have weight in Ireland. The revenue of that kingdom is under some disadvantages which England is free from; the hereditary revenue is claimed *in property* by the crown; a great pension list is charged on it, and
much

much of the amount paid out of the kingdom; a large part of the military establishment is taken out of the kingdom, and of late years the nation has run very much in debt: in such a situation of affairs, it is thought wise and prudent to secure the payment of such a sum as fifty or sixty thousand pounds a year towards the internal improvement of the kingdom. Nobody can deny there being much good sense in this reasoning; but the argument is applicable to a well founded measure, as strongly as it is to an absurd one; and I should farther observe, that if this or any bounty is the means of running the nation so much in debt that new taxes are necessarily the consequence, this idea is then visionary; the people do not secure an advantage but a burthen.

I cannot here avoid a comparison of expending rationally so large a sum of the public money annually, or in a measure at best so very doubtful; for indulge the prejudices of gentlemen, and suppose for a moment, that all the proofs I have given do not amount to an absolute condemnation, they certainly, even then, give it the most dubious complection that ever measure had. But suppose from the beginning, the money, which has been thus advanced, had been given in premiums of 10l. per acre, on all land absolutely waste, which was brought in and reclaimed. That sum I shewed on another occasion, will build excellent dwellings, fence, plant, drain, pare and burn lime, plough, sow and complete an acre; the premium would therefore pay the whole, and leave to the proprietor no other business than to take the trouble of seeing the conditions of the premium complied with. The following table will shew what the effects of such a premium would have been, calculating the annual produce at

280 IMPROVEMENT OF WASTES.

four pounds an acre, which is much under what it ought to be. The first column shews the sums paid as bounty, the next the number of acres that sum would have improved at ten pounds per acre, and the third the produce at four pounds per acre, waiting three years at first to give time for operations.

	Sums.	Acres.	Produce.
	1.		1.
In the year 1762	4,940	494	
1763	5,096	509	
1764	5,483	548	
1765	6,660	666	8,788
1766	9,212	912	12,436
1767	6,074	607	14,864
1768	13,675	1,367	20,332
1769	25,225	2,522	30,420
1770	18,706	1,870	37,909
1771	19,299	1,929	45,616
1772	39,560	3,956	61,440
1773	44,465	4,446	79,224
1774	49,674	4,967	99,092
1775	53,889	5,388	120,644
1776	60,745	6,074	144,940
1777	61,786	6,178	169,732
		<u>42,433</u>	<u>845,428</u>

From hence we find, that at the end of the year 1777, there would have been 42,433 acres improved in the complete and masterly manner ten pounds an acre effects, the annual produce of which would be at four pounds an acre, 169,732l. all absolute and undoubted profit to the kingdom: there would have been received in this manner no less than 845,000l. If the lands were thrown as they ought to be into the course of-- 1. turneps; 2. barley; 3. clover; 4. wheat; and reckoning the barley at ten barrels, and the wheat

at

at six, there would now be a produce every year of 63,649 barrels of wheat, and 186,082 of barley; and this from only half the land; the other half in turnips and clover would undoubtedly keep ten sheep the year through, and yield fifty pounds of wool, or in the whole 106,080 sheep and 33,150 stones of wool; with all the employment and population which would result from such excellent tillage, building, fencing, manuring, and spinning. How different this effect from having in the last seven years lost above a million sterling by the inland carriage; in that period the bounty has just trebled; if it goes on so it will be one hundred and eighty thousand pounds a year in seven years more, and by that time there will be neither sheep nor cows left in the kingdom; but suppose it to stand at sixty thousand pounds a year, that sum in seven years, applied in a bounty on cultivating wastes, would improve forty-two thousand acres, and consequently be attended with all the effects which would have flowed from a similar number, the past bounty would have improved. I have now done with this measure; my English reader will, I hope, pardon so long a detail, which I should not have gone into, had I found the facts known in Ireland, or any just conclusions drawn from ideal ones; but in the variety of conversations I have had in that kingdom with all descriptions of men, I found not one who was acquainted with the facts upon which the merit of the measure could alone be decided. It is for their use that I have collected them from very voluminous manuscripts.

ANOTHER measure relative to corn, which is in execution in Ireland, is a parliamentary bounty on corn preserved on stands, that is stacked on stone pillars,

pillars, capped to prevent the depredations of rats and mice. I have been assured that very great abuses are found in the claims; if these are obviated, the measure seems not objectionable in a country where little is done without some public encouragement. The following are the payments in consequence of this bounty.

	l.		l.
In the year 1766	891	In the year 1772	5487
1767	891	1773	5487
1768	3442	1774	6565
1769	3442	1775	6565
1770	4266	1776	6866
1771	4266	1777	6866*

It would be a proper condition to annex to this bounty, that it be given only to corn preserved as required, and threshed on boarded floors; the samples of Irish wheat are exceedingly damaged by clay floors; an English miller knows the moment he takes a sample in his hand if it came off a clay floor, and it is a deduction in the value. The floors should be of deal plank two inches thick, and laid on joists two or three feet from the ground, for a free current of air to preserve them from rotting.

SECTION XIX.

Manufactures.

THE only manufacture of considerable importance in Ireland is that of linen, which the Irish have for near a century considered as the great staple of the kingdom. The history of it in its earlier periods

The reason of the sums being the same for two years throughout, is their being returned every second year to parliament.

is

is very little known; a committee of the house of commons, of which Sir Lucius O'Brien was chairman, examined the national records with great attention, in order to discover how long they had been in it; all that they discovered was that by an act passed in 1542 the 33d. of Henry 8. linen and woollen yarn were enumerated among the most considerable branches of trade possessed by the natives of Ireland in an act made against grey merchants forestalling. The 11th of Queen Elizabeth the same act was revived, and a further law made against watering hemp or flax, &c. in rivers. By the 13th of Elizabeth all persons were prohibited from exporting wool, flax, linen and woollen yarn, except merchants residing in cities and boroughs, and by a further act the same year a penalty of 12d. a pound was imposed on all flax or linen yarn exported, and 8d. more for the use of the town exported from. In this last act it is recited that the merchants of Ireland had been exporters of those articles in trade upwards of one hundred years preceding that period: and by many subsequent acts, and proclamations during the reigns of Charles I. and II. those manufactures were particularly attended to; from whence it evidently appeared that the kingdom possessed an export trade in these commodities at those early periods. The Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant in Charles I. reign, passed several laws, and took various measures, to encourage this manufacture, insomuch, that he has by some authors been said to have established it originally. At the end of the last century, in king William's reign, it arose to be an object of consequence, but not singly so, for it appears from a variety of records, in both kingdoms, that the Irish had then a considerable woollen manufacture for exportation, which raised the jealousy of the

the English manufacturers in that commodity, so much that they presented so many petitions to both lords and commons, as to induce those bodies to enter fully into their jealousies and illiberal views; which occasioned the famous compact between the two nations brought on in the following manner.

Die Jovis 90. Iunij. 1698.

The Earl of *Stamford* reported from the lords committees (appointed to draw an address to be presented to his Majesty, relating to the woollen manufacture in *Ireland*) the following address, viz.

“ WEE the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled. Do humbly represent unto your Majesty, that the growing manufacture of cloth in *Ireland*, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessities of life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of cloth, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants, to leave their habitations to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufacture in *Ireland*, which makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here; by which the trade of this nation and the value of lands will very much decrease, and the numbers of your people be much lessened here; wherefore, we do most humbly beseech your most sacred majesty, that your majesty would be pleased, in the most public and effectual way, that may be, to declare to all your subjects of *Ireland*, that the growth and increase of the woollen manufacture there, hath long, and will ever be looked

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“ed upon with great jealousy, by all your subjects
of this kingdom: And if not timely remedied may
occasion very strict laws, totally to prohibit and
suppress the same, and on the other hand, if they
turn their industry and skill, to the settling and im-
proving the linen manufacture, for which generally
the lands of that kingdom are very proper, they
shall receive all countenance, favour and protection
from your royal influence, for the encouragement
and promoting of the said linen manufacture, to
all the advantage and profit, that kingdom can be
capable of.”

To which the House agreed.

It is ordered, by the lords spiritual and temporal in
parliament assembled, that the lords with white staves
doe humbly attend his majesty with the address of this
house, concerning the woollen manufacture in Ireland.

Die Veneris 10^o Junij 1698.

“The lord Steward reported his Majesty’s answer
to the address, to this effect, (*viz*).

“THAT his Majesty will take care to do what their
lordships have desired.

ASHLEY COWPER.

Clerk Parliamentor.”

Jovis 30 Die Junij 1698.

“Most Gracious Sovereign,

“WE your majesty’s most dutiful and loyal sub-
jects, the commons in parliament assembled, being
very sensible that the wealth and power of this king-
dom

dom do, in a great measure, depend on the preserving the woollen manufacture, as much as possible entire to this realm, think it becomes us, like our ancestors, to be jealous of the establishment and increase thereof elsewhere; and to use our utmost endeavours to prevent it.

AND therefore, we cannot without trouble observe, that Ireland is dependant on, and protected by England, in the enjoyment of all they have; and which is so proper for the linen manufacture, the establishment and growth of which there, would be so enriching to themselves, and so profitable to England; should, of late, apply itself to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom; and so unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit both them and us.

THE consequence whereof, will necessitate your parliament of England, to interpose to prevent the mischief that threatens us, unless your majesty, by your authority, and great wisdom, shall find means to secure the trade of England, by making your subjects of Ireland to pursue the joint interest of both kingdoms.

AND we do most humbly implore your majesty's protection and favour in this matter; and that you will make it your royal care, and enjoin all those you employ in Ireland, to make it their care, and use their utmost diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from Ireland, except to be imported hither, and for the discouraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen manufactures.

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“factures in Ireland, to which we shall always be
“ready to give our utmost assistance.”

‘RESOLVED, That the said address be presented to
his majesty by the whole house.

Sabbati. 2. die Julii.

HIS MAJESTY’S ANSWER.

“GENTLEMEN,

“I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the
“woollen manufacture in Ireland, and to encourage the
“linen manufacture there; and to promote the trade
“of England.”

Thursday 27th September, 1698.

Part of the Lords Justices Speech.

“AMONGST these bills there is one for the en-
“couragement of the linen and hempen manufactures,
“at our first meeting, we recommend to you that
“matter, and we have now endeavoured to render
“that bill practicable and useful for that effect, and as
“such we now recommend it to you. The settlement
“of this manufacture will contribute much to peo-
“ple the country, and will be found much more
“advantageous to this kingdom, than the woollen
“manufacture, which being the settled staple trade of
“England, from whence all foreign markets are sup-
“plied, can never be encouraged here for that pur-
“pose, whereas the linen and hempen manufactures
“will not only be encouraged, as consistent with the
“trade of England, but will render the trade of this
“kingdom both useful and necessary to England.”

The

The Commons of IRELAND returned the following
Answer to the Speech from the Throne.

“ WE pray leave to assure your excellencies that
“ we shall heartily endeavour to establish a linen and
“ hempen manufacture here, and to render the same
“ useful to England, as well as advantageous to this
“ kingdom, and that we hope to find such a temper-
“ ament in respect to the woollen trade here; that
“ the same may not be injurious to England.”—And
they passed a law that session commencing the 25th of
March, 1699, laying 4s. additional duty on every 20s.
value of broad-cloth exported out of Ireland, and 2s.
on every 20s. value of serges, baize, kerseys, stuffs,
or any other sort of new drapery made of wool or
mixed with wool (frizes only excepted) which was in
effect a prohibition. And in the same session a law
was passed in England, restraining Ireland from ex-
porting those woollen manufactures, including frize,
to any other parts except to England and Wales.

THE addresses of the two houses to the king carry
the clearest evidence of their source, the jealousy of
merchants and manufacturers; I might add their *ig-
norance* too, they are dictated upon the narrow idea
that the prosperity of the woollen fabrics of Ireland
was inconsistent with the welfare of those of England;
it would at present be fortunate for both kingdoms if
these errors had been confined to the last century.
There is an equal mixture also of falshood in the re-
presentations; for they assert that the cheapness of ne-
cessaries in Ireland drew from England the woollen
manufacturers, but they forgot the cheapness of labour
in Ireland to which no workman in the world ever yet
emigrated. The Irish were engaged in various slight
fabricks

fabricks not made in England ; but had they been employed on broad cloth for exportation, the English manufacture would well have bore it, they did at that time and afterwards bear a rapid increase of the French fabrics, and yet flourished. We have had so long an experience of markets increasing with industry and invention that the time ought to have come long ago for viewing competitors without the eye of jealousy.

THE memoirs of the time, as well as the expression in the above transaction, evidently prove that it was understood by both kingdoms to be a sort of compact, that if Ireland gave up her woollen manufacture, that of linen should be left to her under every encouragement. I have, however, myself heard it in the British parliament *denied* to have been any compact ; but simply a promise of encouragement not precluding a like or greater encouragement to the British linens. This is certainly an error, for so understood what is the meaning of the *ample encouragements promised* by the British parliament ? They could not mean internal encouragement or regulation, for they had nothing to do with either : it could simply mean as the purport of the words evidently shew, that they would enter into no measures which should set up a linen manufacture to rival the Irish. That woollens should be considered and encouraged as the staple of England, and linens as that of Ireland : it must mean this or it meant nothing. That the Irish understood it so cannot be doubted for a moment ; for what did they in consequence ? they were in possession of a flourishing woollen manufacture, which they actually put down and crippled by prohibiting exportation. Let me ask those who assert there was no compact, why they did this ? it was

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their own act. Did they cut their own throats without either reward, or promise of reward? common sense tells us they did this under a perfect conviction that they should receive ample encouragement from England in their linen trade: but what moonshine would such encouragement prove if England departing from the letter and spirit of that compact had encouraged her own linen manufacture to rival the Irish, after the Irish had destroyed their woollen fabrics to encourage those of England? Yet we did this in direct breach of the whole transaction, for the 23d of George II. laid a tax on sail cloth made of Irish hemp. Bounties also have been given in England without extending fully to Irish linens. Checked, striped, printed, painted, stained or dyed linens of Irish manufacture are not allowed to be imported into Britain. In which, and in other articles, we have done every thing possible to extend and increase our own linen manufacture, to rival that of Ireland.

I admit readily, that the apprehensions of the Irish at the progress of British linens are in the spirit of commercial jealousy as well as our violence in relation to their woollens. But with this great difference; we forced them to put down a manufacture they were actually in possession of; and we being the controuling power do not leave them that freedom of market which we possess ourselves, points which necessarily place the two nations in this respect upon very different footings. Give them, as they ought to have, a free woollen trade, and they will then have no objection to any measures for the encouragement of our linens which do not absolutely exclude theirs.

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The following table will shew the progress of their linen manufacture.

An ACCOUNT of the EXPORT of LINEN-CLOTH, and LINEN-YARN, from IRELAND.

Average of 7 years, from 1750 to 1756.

Linen Cloth, 11,796,361 yards

Yarn, 24,328 Cwt.

Cloth, valued at 1s. 3d. per yard, 745,057l.

Yarn, valued at 6l. per 120lb. 145,972l.

Total value, 904,479l.

Average of 7 years, from 1757 to 1763.

Linen cloth, 14,511,973 yards

Yarn, 33,114 Cwt.

Cloth, valued at 1s. 3d. per yard, 967,445l.

Yarn, valued at 6l. per 120lb. 198,690l.

Total value, 1,166,136l.

Average of 7 years, from 1764 to 1770.

Linen cloth 17,776,862 yards

Yarn 32,311 Cwt.

Cloth, valued at 1s. 3d. per yard, 1,184,171l.

Yarn, valued at 6l. per 120lb. 193,868l.

Total value, 1,379,512l.

Average of 7 years, from 1771 to 1777.

Linen cloth, 20,252,239 yards

Yarn, 37,475 Cwt.

Cloth, valued at 1s. 3d. per yard, 1,390,919l.

Yarn, valued at 6l. per C. 120lb. 188,810l.

Total value, 1,615,654l.

Average of 30 years since 1748, 1,228,148l.

Average of 30 years before, - 417,600l.

MR HENRY ARCHDALL, in the year 1771, asserted before a committee of the house of commons, that Ireland manufactured for

Exportation,	—	—	1,541,200
And for home consumption,	—	—	658,906
			<hr/>
			*2,200,106

THE latter article must be a mere guess; the first we find contradicted in the preceding table, unless he meant cloth only.

THIS ample table calls for several observations. It first appears that the manufacture has gone on in a regular increase, until it has arrived in the last seven years to be an object of prodigious consequence. The averages of each period of seven years are of particular importance; as there is one political lesson to be deduced from them, which may be of great use hereafter: they prove in the clearest manner that no judgment is ever to be formed of the state of the manufacture from one or two years, but on the contrary from seven years alone. In 1774 the export was lower than it had been for nine years before, and we very well recollect the noise which this fall made in England. I was repeatedly in the gallery of the English house of commons when they sat in a committee for months together upon the state of the linen trade, and from the evidence I heard at the bar I thought Ireland was sinking to nothing, and that all her fabricks were tumbling to pieces: the assertion of the linen fabrics declining *a third* was repeated violently, and it was very true. But they drew this comparison from 1771,

• Journals of the commons, vol. 16. page 368.

when it was at its zenith, and a very unnatural one, for it rose at once five millions of yards which was unparalleled. It was ridiculous to draw a sudden start into precedent, for what manufacture in the world but experiences moments of uncommon prosperity, the continuance of which is never to be expected; this fall of a third therefore, though true *in fact*, was utterly false *in argument*. In truth the fall is exceedingly trivial, for the only comparison that ought to have been made was with the average of the preceding seven years, the decline then would have appeared only seven or eight hundred thousand yards, that is, not a *twentieth* instead of a *third*. But because the trade had run to a most extraordinary height in 1771, the manufacturers and merchants felt the fall the more, and were outrageously clamorous because every year was not a jubilee one. If such were to be the consequences of an unusual demand, ministers and legislatures would have reason to curse any extraordinary prosperity, and to prevent it if they could, under the conviction that the grasping avarice of commercial folly, would be growling and dunning them with complaints when the trade returned to its usual and natural course. In the year 1773 and 4, all Ireland was undone; the linen manufacture was to be at an end; but lo! at the end of the period of seven years upon examining the average it is found to be in as great a state of increase as ever known before; for the four periods have all the same rise one above another of three millions of yards each: consequently, I say, upon the evidence of the clearest facts that there has been no *declension* but an INCREASE. And I shall draw this manifest conclusion from it to disbelieve commercial complaints as long as I exist, and put no credit in that sort of proof which is carried to par-

liament in support of such complaints. Falshood and imposition I am confident find their way to the bar of a house, and I do not think it much for the credit of those who supported the Irish complaints at the period above mentioned, that I should find in copying at Dublin part of this table from the parliamentary record of import and exports, the export of the year 1775 erased; the only considerable erasure there is in those volumes, the total of particulars makes 19,447,250 yards, but it now stands written over that erasure 20,205,087. It is easily accounted for; if the trade had been known to have experienced so immediate a revival half their arguments would have had no weight, it might therefore be convenient to sink the truth. If it was merely accidental in the clerk I can only say it was at a most unfortunate time and subject*.

THE following table will shew that England is the market for eighteen-twentieths of the total Irish exportation.

QUANTITIES of IRISH LINENS imported into ENGLAND from Christmas 1756, to Christmas 1773.

From 1757 to 1761.	
65,768,072 yards, or per annum	13,153,614.
From 1762 to 1766.	
72,472,915 yards, or per annum	14,494,583.
From 1767 to 1771.	
87,063,578 yards, or per annum	17,612,715.
In the year 1772	— — 19,171,774.
1773	— — 17,896,994.

* In the woollen manufacture of England the same spirit of complaint and falshood has at different times pestered both parliament and the public. See this point discussed in my *Political Arithmetic*, page 152.

* Substance of Mr. Glover's evidence before the house of commons, 1774, page 60.

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The following table will shew the importation of the raw materials for this fabrick.

IMPORT of FLAX, HEMP, and FLAX-SEED, into IRELAND.

Average of 7 years from 1764 to 1770.

Flax seed, -	31,809 hogheads,*	Value 111,333l.
Undressed flax, †	15,608 Cwt.	Value 37,387l.
Undressed hemp, ‡	16,243 Cwt.	Value 25,988l.

Total Value 174,710l.

Average of 7 years from 1771 to 1777.

Flax seed, -	33,050 hogheads,	Value 115,675l.
Undressed flax,	9,322 Cwt.	Value 22,374l.
Undressed hemp,	14,590 Cwt.	Value 23,343l.

Total Value 161,394l.

This account is favourable to the state of the manufacture; for the increased import of flax-seed in the second period, implies that the country supplied herself with more flax of her own producing, which accounts for the falling off in the import of undressed flax: the persons who have studied the manufacture in all its branches with the most attention, agree that there is no greater improvement to be wished for, than the raising the flax instead of importing foreign. It is much to be lamented, that the flax-husbandry has not made a greater progress in the kingdom; for the profit

* At 3l. 10s. a hoghead from 28s. to 6l.

† At 48s. from 45l. to 52l. per ton.

‡ At 32s. from 24l. to 40l. per ton, average 32l.

of

of it is very great. The minutes of the tour furnish the following particulars:

	Expences.			Stones scutched.	At per stone.		Value.
	l.	s.	d.		s.	d.	
Averages,	8	13	2	36	7	2	15 8 1

FROM hence we find, that the profit is near seven pounds an acre, clear, after paying large expences, and that on the Cunningham acre.

THERE is a notion common in the north of Ireland, which I should suppose must be very prejudicial to the quality as well as the quantity of flax produced; it is, that rich land will not do for it, and that the soil should be pretty much exhausted by repeated crops of oats, in order to reduce it to the proper state for flax. The consequence of this is, as I every where saw, crops full of weeds, and of poor half-starved flax: the idea is absurd; there is no land in the north of Ireland that I saw too rich for it. A very rich soil sown thin produces a branching harsh flax, but if very clear of weeds, and sown thick for the stems to draw each other up, the crop will be in goodness, and quantity proportioned to the richness of the land. A poor exhausted soil cannot produce a flax of a strong good staple; it is the nourishment it receives from the fertility of the land which fills the plant with oil, and bleachers very well know that the oil is the strength of the staple, and unfortunately it is, that bleaching cannot be performed without an exhalation of this oil and consequent weakness. But though it is necessary for colour to exhale a portion of the oil, flax that never had but little from the poverty of the soil it grew

grew in is of little worth, and will not bear the operation of bleaching like the other. Potatoes kept very clean under the plough are an excellent preparation for flax; and turnips, well hoed, the same.

THE earnings of the manufacturers in the linen fabrics are on an average,

	l.	s.	d.
Weavers of fine cloths a day, —	0	1	5
Ditto of coarse, — — —	0	1	0½
Spinners, — — —	0	0	3¼

THESE earnings are from double to near treble those of husbandry labour throughout the kingdom, and yet complaints of poverty are infinitely more common among these people than in those parts of the kingdom that have no share of the manufacture. It is so in all countries; and ought to prevent too assiduous an attention to such complaints. Those who for the sake of great earnings will become weavers, must do it under the knowledge that they embrace or continue in a life not of the same regular tenour with the lowest species of labourers. If they will not be more prudent and saving, they ought not to clamour and expect the public to turn things topsy turvy to feed them, who, with any degree of attention, might have supported themselves much better than another class that never complains at all.

HAVING thus endeavoured to shew the rise, progress, and present amount of this manufacture, it will be necessary to lay before the reader some account of the sums of public money which have, according to the fashion of Ireland, been expended in its encouragement. This is not so easy to do fully and accurately

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curately as I could wish, but the following papers are the best authorities I could find.

An Account of the net Produce of the Duties appropriated to the Use of the Hempen and Linen Manufactures from their Commencement, and also the Bounties from Parliament,

From 1721 to 1775.

Nett Duties.			Bounties.
Totals,	—	—	1.
		453,204	184,540
Nett tea duties for 7 years,	}	72,500	184,540
ending 1775,			
		710,244	
Average of the last 7 years	}	1,385	
duties,			
Ditto of tea duties,	--	10,357	
Together,	--	11,742	

THE tea duties were granted for the use of this manufacture.

BUT that this account is not complete appears by another * to the following effect.

* Commons Journals, vol. 17, p. 263.

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An Account of the Money for which the Vice-treasurers have claimed Credit, as being paid by them for the Use of the Hempen and Linen Manufactures, from the 25th of March, 1700, to the 25th of March, 1775, returned to the Honourable House of Commons pursuant to their Order, November 25, 1775.

		l.
Total,	— —	847,504
Average of the last 7 years,		14,446

THE expenditure of this money is under the direction of the linen board, upon a similar plan as the navigation board explained above. Their mode of applying it will be seen by the following account.

Disbursements of the Linen Trustees, from 1757 to 1772.

		l.
Spinning schools,	— —	3,634
Flax shops,	— —	2,197
Flax dressers,	— —	4,145
Bleachers,	— —	14,323
Contractors,	— —	5,720
Yarn inspectors,	— —	654
Manufacturers,	— —	55,013
Utensils,	— —	69,445
Raising flax,	— —	5,101
Flaxseed mixed with potatoes,		2,818
Fraudulent lapped linens,	—	748
Buildings and repairs,	—	25,936
Clerks, &c. at linen office	—	11,728
Ditto, linen and yarn halls,	—	7,642
Inspectors, itinerent men, and reed makers,		7,723
Incidental charges,	—	11,773
In sixteen years,	—	225,606
Or per annum,	—	14,100*

* Journals of the House of Commons, vol. xv. p. 375.

300 BOUNTIES TO LINENS.

SUBSEQUENT to 1698 Ireland, at an enormous expence to the public, made a progress in the linen manufacture, &c.*

THE trustees of the linen board expended near half a million of money to extend and promote the linen manufacture before the year 1750 †.

BUT these accounts do not yet shew the full amount of public money which has been granted for the use of this great manufacture; to have this complete we must take in the bounties on the import of seed, and on the export of canvass and sail cloth, which have been as follow :

Years, ending Lady day.	Import Hemp and flaxseed.
1765	11,464
1767	15,894
1769	16,810
1771	16,062
1773	16,279
1775	14,674
1777	14,479
Tota's, — —	226,834
Average of the last seven years, —	15,094 †
The bounty on the export of canvass and sail cloth, from 1731 to 1755, -	28,682

* REPORT of Sir Lucius O'Brien's Committee Journals, vol. xv. p. 396.

† Ibid page 400.

‡ EXTRACTED from an account of national premiums, MS. Communicated by the Right Hon. John Forster.

By

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By one of these accounts the annual net produce of those duties appropriated to this manufacture, on an average of the last seven years, is — — — 11,742

But by the other, the treasury charges the manufacture on the same average with, — — 14,446

Difference, — — — — 2,704

THE fact, however, is, that the larger of these sums is paid to this purpose, and the account of the linen boards disbursement amounts to 14,100l.

The total annual sums at present applied appear to be these :

1.		
Produce of duties appropriated to the purpose,	14,446	
Parliamentary bounty,	—	4,000
Bounty on the import of flax-seed,	—	15,094
Total per annum,	—	33,540

And that the total sums thus applied since the year 1700 have been :

1.		
Paid by the vice treasurers,	—	847,504
Parliamentary bounty,	—	192,540
Bounty on flax import,	—	226,834
Ditto on export of canvas,	—	28,682
Total,	—	1,295,560

THE most careless observer cannot help remarking, the great amount of this total ; and must think that an annual grant of 33,000l. a year in support of a manufacture which works to the annual amount of two millions sterling, an extraordinary measure. I must be free

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free to own, that I cannot, upon any principles, see the propriety of it. They cannot have done any considerable mischief I grant, but if they do no good there is a great evil in the misapplication of so much money. That a manufacture in its very cradle, if it happens to be of a sickly growth, may be benefited by bounties and premiums, is certain; but that even in such a case it is wise to give them, I doubt, very much; for fabricks being sickly in their growth is a reason against encouraging them. The truly valuable manufactures, such as linen in Ireland, wool and hardware in England, and silk in France, want no help but a demand for their produce. Ireland has always had a demand for her linens, and having been in the trade from the beginning of this century would naturally increase in proportion to the demand; but she would have done this though no linen board nor bounties had existed. It is contrary to all the principles of commerce to suppose, that such an increasing manufacture would want flax or flax-seed without bounties on the import; or that manufacturers in it would not earn their bread without a present of 55,000*l*. The only instance in which these bounties would certainly have a considerable effect is, the case of expensive machines: the first introduction of which is difficult to individuals in a poor country. But this article, in its fullest extent, would have demanded but a small sum in the linen trade, for it by no means goes to common spinning wheels, the construction of which is generally known. If there is any reason to suppose linen would, throughout the century, have stood upon its own legs, how much more is there for its doing so at present! I will venture to assert, that there is not one yard of linen more made on account of the thirty-three thousand pounds a year now expended. It is to such a great

manu-

manufacture a drop of water in the ocean. —
 An object too contemptible to have any effects attributed to it. It is idle and visionary to suppose, that a fabric which has employed a fourth part of the kingdom for 70 years, and exports to the amount of a million and a half annually, wants boards, and bounties, and premiums, and impertinence to support it. I have heard it said more than once in Ireland, that a seat at the linen board might easily be worth 300l. a year; it is very well if the whole becomes a job, for it might just as well as be applied to inspectors, itinerent men, builders and salaries.

I before calculated the extent of waste land, the bounty on the inland carriage of corn would have improved at 10l. an acre, let me do the same with the 1,300,000 expended on linen. It would have improved 130,000 acres, which would now be yielding 520,000l. a year, or a fourth part of the whole amount of all the linen manufacture of Ireland; so infinitely more productive is money bestowed on the land than on the fabrics of a state.

I do not mean to find fault with the establishment of this manufacture; it has grown to a great degree of national importance, but from some unfortunate circumstances in the police of it (if I may use the expression) that importance is not nearly equal to what it ought to be, from the extent of country it absolutely fills. It will be at least a curious enquiry to examine this point; from the best information I can assert, that the linen and yarn made in Connaught, and part of Leinster, vastly exceed in value all the exports of Ulster, exclusive of those two commodities, which make linen the whole exportable produce of that province,

vince, or 1,600,000l. a year. Ulster in the common estimation contains 2,836,837 plantation acres; suppose that vast tract under sheep, and feeding no more than two to an acre, their fleeces only at five shillings each, would amount raw to 1,418,418l. and spun into bay yarn, without receiving any farther manufacture, the value would be 2,127,622l. reckoning the labour half the value of the wool, that is to say, the amount would be more than the whole value of the linen manufacture both exported and consumed at home.

How exceedingly different are the manufactures of England! That of the single city of Norwich amounts to near as much as the whole linen export of Ireland*, but very far is that from being the whole exported produce of a province! It is not that of a single county, for Norfolk, besides feeding that city, Yarmouth and Lynn, two of the greatest ports in England, and a variety of other towns, exports I believe more corn than any other county in the kingdom; and whoever is acquainted with the supply of the London markets, knows that there are thousands of black cattle fattened every year on Norfolk turnips, and sent to Smithfield. What a spectacle is this! The agriculture in the world, the most productive of wealth by exportation around one of the greatest manufactures in Europe. It is thus that manufactures become the best friends to agriculture; that they animate the farmer's industry by giving him ready markets, until he is able, not only to supply them fully, but pushes his exertions with such effect, that he finds a surplus in his hands to convert into gold in the national balance, by rendering foreigners tributary for

* Norwich works to the amount of about 1,200,000l. a year.
their

their bread. Examine all the other fabrics in the kingdom, you see them prodigious markets for the surrounding lands; you see those lands doubling, trebling, quadrupling their rents, while the farmers of them increase daily in wealth; thus you see manufactures rearing up agriculture, and agriculture supporting manufactures; you see a reaction which gives a reciprocal animation to human industry; great national prosperity is the effect; wealth pours in from the fabrics, which spreading like a fertile stream over all the surrounding lands, renders them, comparatively speaking, so many gardens, the most pleasing spectacles of successful industry.

CHANGE the scene, and view the North of Ireland; you there behold a whole province peopled by weavers; it is they who cultivate, or rather beggar the soil, as well as work the looms; agriculture is there in ruins; it is cut up by the root; extirpated; annihilated; the whole region is the disgrace of the kingdom; all the crops you see are contemptible; nothing but filth and weeds. No other part of Ireland can exhibit the soil in such a state of poverty and desolation. A farming traveller, who goes through that country with attention, will be shocked at seeing wretchedness in the shape of a few beggarly oats on a variety of most fertile soils, which, were they in Norfolk, would soon rival the best lands in that county. A most prosperous manufacture, so contrived as to be the destruction of agriculture, is certainly a spectacle for which we must go to Ireland; but the cause of all these evils, which are absolute exceptions to every thing else on the face of the globe, is easily found. It is owing to the fabric spreading over all the country

try, instead of being confined to towns. This in a certain degree is found in some manufactures in England, but never to the exclusion of farmers; there, literally speaking, is not a farmer in a hundred miles of the linen country in Ireland. The lands are infinitely subdivided, no weaver thinks of supporting himself by his loom; he has always a piece of potatoes, a piece of oats, a patch of flax, and grass or weeds for a cow, thus his time is divided between his farm and his loom. Ten acres are an uncommon quantity to be in one man's occupation; four, five, or six, the common extent. They sow their land with successive crops of oats until it does not produce the seed again, and they leave it to become grass as it may, in which state it is under weeds and rubbish for four or five years. Such a wretched management is constant destruction to the land; none of it becomes improved unless from a state of nature; all the rest is destroyed, and does not produce a tenth of what it would, if cultivated by farmers, who had nothing to do but mind their business. As land thus managed will not yield rent, they depend for that on their web; if linen sells indifferently, they pay their rents indifferently, and if it sells badly, they do not pay them at all. Rents in general, at their value, being worse paid there than in any other part of Ireland.

'WHERE agriculture is in such a state of ruin, the land cannot attain its true value; and in fact the linen counties, proportioned to their soil, are lower let than any others in Ireland. There has been a great rise on many estates, and so there has all over the kingdom, but not at all owing to the manufacture; and I am confident, from having gone over the whole with attention, that any given tract of land in
the

the linen country, if it could be moved to some other part of the kingdom where there are no weavers, would let 20 per cent. higher than it does at present; and I am so convinced of this, that if I had an estate in the South of Ireland, I would as soon introduce pestilence and famine as the linen manufacture upon it, *carried on as it is at present in the North of that kingdom*. Particular spots may be, and are high let in the North, but I speak of the average of any large tract.

BUT if, instead of the manufacture having so diffused itself as absolutely to banish farmers, it had been confined to towns, which it might easily have been, the very contrary effect would have taken place, and all those vast advantages to agriculture would have flowed, which flourishing manufactures in other countries occasion. The towns would have been large and numerous, and would have proved such ample markets to all the adjacent country, that it could not have failed becoming well cultivated, and letting probably at double the present rent. The manufacturers would have been confined to their own business, and the farmers to theirs; that both trades would have flourished the better for this, the minutes of the journey very generally shew; a weaver who works at a fine cloth, can never take the plough or the spade in hand without injury to his web.

I have heard but two objections to this: first, That the weavers would be unhealthy in towns: and second, That the country would be less populous.

To the first I reply, that ill health is the consequence of a sedentary life and a bended posture; whether the man has his farm or not it is not a little

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work now and then that will remedy this evil if he supports himself by the loom. I was in several of the linen markets, and never saw more pallid pictures of disease; I defy any town to shew worse. Robust, healthy, vigorous bodies are not to be found at looms; if the health of the people is your object, you must give up manufactures, and betake yourselves to agriculture altogether; but this in the present state of the world is visionary. If the weavers were confined to towns, as I propose, there would be a much greater aggregate of health than at present, for the country would be as healthy as it always is in the hands of farmers and labourers, but at present *all* is unhealthy as *all* are manufacturers.

THE second objection I totally deny, for it is against all the principles of population to assert, that a measure, which is beneficial to both agriculture and manufactures, can be prejudicial to the increase of people; more food would be raised from well than from ill cultivated ground; a whole race of farmers and labourers would be employed in feeding the towns; to think that population could be injured by such an arrangement is an absurdity too gross to deserve attention. But if such foolish ideas did arise, here is a fresh reason for actually numbering the people, at different epochs, as the only sure way of gaining a solid foundation for political reasoning*.

THAT the circumstances of the Irish manufacture are lamentable, when the extent of country is con-

* La lista de los habitantes, su clasificacion por sexos, edades y ocupaciones forman el fundamento de los discursos relativos á la poblacion. *Campomanes apendice a la Educacion Popular.* Tom 4. p. 410.

sidered,

sidered, no man of reflection can doubt, for the value of it taken in that light (important as it is in its total amount) appears to be comparatively trivial. Fortunately the evil is not without a remedy; the landlords of the country might, with no great difficulty, effect the change. Let them steadily refuse to let an acre of land to any man that has a loom; the business would and ought to be gradual; but farms should be thrown by degrees into the hands of real farmers, and weavers driven into towns, where a cabbage garden should be the utmost space of their land; and those gentlemen, who are introducing the manufacture in other parts of the kingdom, should build the cabins contiguous, and let the inhabitants on no account have any land. All encouragement, all attention, all bounty, all premium, all reward, should go to those, who lived by, and attended to their looms alone, not in a separated cabin, but in a street. The more a person attends to the abominable state of land in the North of Ireland, the more he will be convinced of the propriety, and even necessity of this measure; and if contrary to common sense, a paltry board is permitted to exist, by way of promoting a fabric of two millions a year, let them have this object, and this only as their business. Let them devise the means of inducing landlords to drive their weavers into towns, and they will in a few years do more good to their country than all their inspectors, itinerant men, and spinning wheels, will do in a century.

RELATIVE to the other manufactures of Ireland, I am sorry to say, they are too insignificant to merit a particular attention; upon the subject of that of wool I must however remark, that the policy of England, which has always hitherto been hostile to every ap-

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pearance of an Irish woollen manufacture, has been founded upon the mean contractions of illiberal jealousy; it is a conduct that has been founded upon the ignorance and prejudices of mercantile people, who, knowing as they are in the science which teaches that two and two make four, are lost in a labyrinth the moment they leave their counting-houses, and become statesmen; they are too apt to think of governing kingdoms upon the same principles they conduct their private business on, those of monopoly, which though the soul of private interest, is the bane of public commerce. It has been the mistaken policy of this country, to suppose that all Ireland gained by a woollen manufacture would be so much loss to England; this is the true monopolizing ignorance. We did not think proper to draw these bands of commercial tyranny so tight as to interdict their linens; we gave them a free trade; nay we import an immense quantity of Russian and German linen, and yet between this double fire of the Irish and foreigners, has our own linen manufacture flourished and increased; it is the spirit and effect of every species of monopoly to counteract the designs which dictate that mean policy. The rivalry of the Irish (if a rivalry was to ensue) would be beneficial to our woollen trade; as a fast friend to the interest of my native country, I wish success to those branches of the Irish woollens which would rival our own; a thousand beneficial consequences would flow from it; it would inspirit our manufacturers; it would awaken them from their lethargy, and give rise to the spirit of invention and enterprize. How long did our old broad cloth trade sleep in the west without one sign of life strong enough to animate a new pursuit; but a different spirit breaking out in Yorkshire and Scotland, new fabrics were invented, and new trades opened. A free Irish woollen trade

WOOLLEN MANUFACTURE. 311

trade would put our manufacturers to their mettle, and would do more for the woollen trade of England than any other measure whatever. Our merchants think such a rivalry would ruin them; but do they think the French would not have reason for such fears also? Have we not lost the Levant and Turkey trade through the obstinacy of our monopolists? And why should not Ireland have a chance for such a branch as well as Languedoc? But such has been our narrow policy, with respect to that kingdom, that we have for a century sat down more contented with the successful rivalry of France, than with the chance of an Irish competitor.

WHENEVER any question, relative to commercial indulgence to Ireland, has come into the British parliament, its friends have always urged the *distressed state of Ireland* as a motive. This is taking the ground of duplicity, perhaps of falshood, they ought to be more liberal, and avow that their principle is not to relax the present laws as a matter of humanity to Ireland, but of right and policy to themselves; to demand a free trade to Ireland as the best friends to Britain; to demand that France may be rivalled by the subjects of the British empire; if those of one kingdom cannot, or will not do it, that those of another may.

ONE would have reason to suppose, from the spirit of commercial jealousy among our woollen towns, that whatever Ireland got was lost to England. That kingdom is one of the greatest customers we have upon the globe; is it good policy to wish that our best customer may be poor? Do not the maxims of commercial life tell us that the richer he is the better? Can any one suppose that the immense wealth of Holland is

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not of vast advantage to our manufactures; and though the Russia trade, upon the balance, is much against us, who can suppose that the increasing wealth of that vast empire, owing to the unparalleled wisdom of its present empress, the first and most able sovereign in the world, is not an increasing fund in favour of British industry?

THE tabinets and poplins of Ireland (a fabric partly of woollen, partly of silk) did that island possess a greater freedom in the woollen trade, would find their way to a successful market throughout all the South of Europe. A friend of mine travelled France and Spain with a suit of that pleasing fabric among others, and it was more admired and envied than any thing he carried with him. This is a manufacture of which we have not a vestige in England.

UNDER another head I inserted the export of wool and yarn, and also the import of woollen goods from England; the following slight minute on the proportionate value of the labour to the material, will conclude what I have to say on a manufacture, which working only for home consumption, can never thrive.

Bay yarn. A woman, on an average, spins three skains a day, which weigh a quarter of a pound, the value spun is from ten-pence to a shilling, medium ten-pence three farthings.

Combing it not quite	—	d.
Spinning,	—	1
		2 $\frac{1}{2}$
		—
		3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Value of the wool,	—	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
		—
		10 $\frac{3}{4}$
		—

THE

THE balls are a pound and an half each of twelve skains, the woman spins a ball in four days; being paid ten pence; in Leinster it is ten pence half-penny, and in Munster it is nine pence; average nine pence three farthings. Combing a ball is about three pence, which with spinning nine pence three farthings makes twelve pence three farthings labour on a ball; and the price of a ball, both wool and labour, in the year 1778, was three shillings and six pence. In a war the price of wool generally falls in Ireland. The last French war did not sink prices in Ireland, but the Spanish one did. The silk manufacture of Ireland has already been discussed in Section 16, and is a fabrick that merits neither the encouragement of the natives, nor the attention of others.

S E C T I O N XX.

Revenue——Taxes.

THE rise, progress, and present state of the revenue of Ireland, is very little understood in England, though an object of considerable importance to that kingdom. The variations of it are useful marks among many others of the prosperity or declension of the island, and every thing which enables us to judge of the real state of a country with which we are so intimately connected well deserves our attention.

THE public revenue in that kingdom stands upon a very different footing from ours in England, owing to the operations of the revolution relative to this object not having extended to Ireland. Before that epoch the two kingdoms were in this respect similar; but the
old

old subsidies and other duties which formed the hereditary revenue of the Stuarts in England were purchased of the crown at the revolution with the civil list revenue of 700,000 l. no similar bargain took place in Ireland, consequently the old hereditary revenue in that kingdom is at present under the same circumstances as the like funds were in England before 1688. It is upon this old revenue that the pensions on the Irish establishment are granted; the crown claims a right to apply the whole of it at its pleasure, but strong arguments have been urged against that claim, particularly by the late Alexander M'Aulay, Esq; in a very sensible and well written pamphlet, entitled, "An Inquiry into the Legality of Pensions on the Irish Establishment." 1763.

THE following tables will set the progress of late years, and present receipts of the revenue, in a clear light.

Customs

	<i>Customs in.</i>	<i>Customs out.</i>	<i>Import excise.</i>	<i>Inland excise</i>	<i>Additional duty on ale, beer, and strong waters.</i>	<i>Hearth money.</i>
In the year 1730 1740 1750	l. 97,821 84,912 151,279	l. 27,012 25,388 29,698	l. 78,248 73,336 123,858	l. 64,360 69,675 92,294	l. 50,909 55,375 74,404	l. 42,301 45,045 43,039
Average of 7 years, from 1764 to 1770,	{ 211,036	37,712	154,753	84,185	68,718	57,736
Average of 7 years, from 1771 to 1777,	{ 223,709	37,929	146,473	75,839	53,831	59,868
1778 1779	198,550 165,802	36,027 31,717	131,284 106,070	81,761 76,335	58,612 54,934	61 646 60,617

THE conclusion of the peace of Aix le Chapelle seems from this table, as well as from a variety of others to have been the principal epoch in the prosperity of Ireland. The inland excise is a revenue so wretchedly administered by the confession of the whole kingdom, that no conclusions whatever are to be drawn from it. The customs outwards have risen but little; and not at all in the last seven years, which is to be accounted for from some of the principal articles of the exports, such as linen, &c. being either duty free, or having so small a custom as to be merely with design of ascertaining quantities; and also by the falling off in the export of the produce of pasturage which I have shewn before, most of the articles of it having an ill judged duty on them. But the customs inwards is not a bad one, for an increased import, though at first sight it seems to be against a nation, ought never to be taken in that light. No kingdom ever imports goods which it cannot pay for, and an increased consumption is the strongest proof of an increased ability to pay for it. I must however remark, that the increase in this column the last seven years is very trifling. There are in all the other columns, except hearth money, a decline in this period which very well deserves to be enquired into. That the kingdom has flourished in it I have little or no doubt, it may, therefore, probably be owing to the multiplication of abuses in the collection of the revenues, which being so many cancers in the body politick ought to be remedied with the utmost assiduity.

THE increase of the hearth money is a matter of importance, for it proves an increase of population clearly; which, indeed, could not be doubted from the increased prosperity and wealth of the kingdom, and from the repeated information I received all over it to that purport.

R E V E N U E.

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THE whole gross revenues offer a different appearance from these particular duties, the following account shews there has been an increafe, but owing to an increafe of taxes.

THESE

Two years ending Lady day.	Hereditary revenue gross.	Old additional duties gross.	For receiving revenue, paying drawbacks and premiums on corn, &c.	Nett produce of the hereditary and old additional duties.
Average of 7 years, from 1751 to 1763.	l. 1,060,474	l. 355,698	l. 208,981	l. 1,209,068
Average of 7 years, from 1765 to 1777.	1,305,062	446,335	368,786	1,382,896
In the year 1779.	1,175,145	346,696		

THESE are for sessions not years. Besides these duties there are others appropriated by parliament to particular purposes; these are for paying the interest of loans, for the encouragement of the linen manufacture, of tillage, of protestant schools, and the cambrick manufacture.

THE whole revenue of the kingdom for twenty years in two periods, of ten each with the averages, will shew the general increase, whether owing to new duties or an increase of old ones.

TOTAL REVENUE OF IRELAND.

l.
Average of ten years, from 1758 to 1767, 834,673

In the year 1768	—	945,520
1769	—	977,372
1770	—	954,045
1771	—	900,913
1772	—	897,396
1773	—	955,074
1774	—	* 957,498
1775	—	† 930,228
1776	—	1,040,055
1777	—	<u>1,093,881</u>

Average of ten years, from 1768 to 1777, 965,198

Ditto of the former period, — 834,673

Increase, — 130,525

* Additional duties laid.

† Stamps ditto.

But

BUT this revenue, considerable as it is, has not been equal to the national expenditure. In the sessions of 1759 there was a surplus in the treasury of 65,774*l*. yet in the following one a considerable debt was contracted, as will be seen by the progress of the incumbrance.

I.

In the year 1761	—	223,438	National debt.
1763	—	521,161	ditto.
1765	—	508,874	ditto.
1767	—	581,964	ditto.
1769	—	628,883	ditto.
1771	—	789,569	ditto.
1773	—	1,999,686	ditto.
1775	—	976,117	ditto.
1777	—	§ 825,426	ditto.
1779	—	1,062,597	ditto.

SUPPOSE the revenue a million, it is about a sixth part of the land rents of the kingdom. If there are three millions of souls in Ireland, they pay exactly 6*s*. 8*d*. a head. It appeared before the export of linen, yarn, corn, woollen, pork, beef, &c. &c. amounted to 3,250,471*l*. suppose all other exports would make it up three and a half millions, the revenue of the kingdom amounts not quite to a third.

It will not be improper here to compare the burthens of Ireland with those of Great-Britain.

† This does not agree with the state in vol. 17 of the journals, nor the following year.

§ Extracted from the national accounts laid before parliament every sessions.

BRITISH

BRITISH AND IRISH TAXES COMPARED.

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British revenue of 13 millions paid by 9 millions of people is,	—	l. s. d.	
Irish revenue of 1 million paid by 3 millions of people is,	—	1 9 0	a head.
British revenue of 13 millions paid by 72 millions * of acres is,	—	0 6 8	a head.
Irish revenue of 1 million paid by 25 millions of acres is,	—	0 3 6	each.
British revenue of 13 millions paid by a rental † of 24 millions is,	—	0 0 10	each.
Irish revenue of 1 million paid by a rental of 6 millions is,	—	0 3 4	in the pound.
British revenue of 13 millions paid by an export of ‡ 16 millions is,	—	0 16 3	in the pound.
Irish revenue of 1 million paid by an export of 3½ millions is,	—	0 5 9	in the pound.
British revenue of 13 millions paid by a balance of trade of 5 millions is,	2 12 0		in the pound.
Irish revenue of 1 million paid by a balance of trade of 1 million is	— 1 0 0		in the pound.

* The exact number at 64.0 to a mile is 71,979,848. † 25l. that of England, and 4l. allowed for Scotland. ‡ The last custom-house account.

THE

THE inferiority of the taxes of Ireland to those of Great-Britain upon every one of these comparisons is very great; the parallel however is certainly not complete: the specie of Ireland is 1,600,000*l.* but it is difficult to say what that of England is, the gold coinage proved our calculators to be so amazingly out in their reckoning, but in this article, including paper lies, I apprehend the greater ease in England of paying taxes; which are light or heavy, not perhaps so much in proportion to the income of a people as to the ease of circulation; that in England is out of all comparison greater than in Ireland, which would make it impossible for the preceding proportions to be raised in that kingdom as high as they are in Britain. But fair allowances being made for this article, still we may with great safety conclude that this national burthen is vastly lighter there than with us. If the advantages of such a situation are not continued, it will certainly be owing to complaints of poverty, occasioning closer scrutinies into facts than have hitherto happened.

WE come next to the expence which absorbs this income.

BRITISH AND IRISH TAXES COMPARED.

322

<i>Two years ending Lady day.</i>	<i>Civil list.</i>	<i>Military list.</i>	<i>Extraordinary charges, includ- ing parliamen- tary grants.</i>	<i>Totals.</i>
In the year 1751	l. 146,134	l. 766,151	l. 126,356	l. 1,038,643
1771	272,678	976,917	373,997	1,623,593
1773	323,833	1,172,723	389,634	1,886,191
1775	366,838	1,223,326	342,377	1,932,541
1777	410,904	1,112,682	410,172	1,933,758
1779	336,475	937,679	432,474	1,706,628

SOME

SOME of the particular duties which go towards raising the above revenue will be seen among the following articles:

<i>Goods exported.</i>			<i>Duty.</i>
			<i>l.</i>
In the year 1773	Beef,	— —	10,759
	Bulls and cows,	— —	29
	Butter,	— —	6,809
	Candles,	— —	109
	Cheese,	— —	52
	Horfes,	— —	88
	Bacon flitches,	— —	120
	Hides,	— —	2,857
	Tallow, cwt.	— —	12,994
	Tongues,	— —	75
Total,			23,892

<i>Goods imported.</i>			<i>Duty.</i>
			<i>l.</i>
	Tobacco,	— —	121,148
	Rum,	— —	161,080
	Gin,	— —	21,935
	Brandy,	— —	34,206
	Tea,	— —	16,406
	Salt and salt petre,	— —	11,305
	Silk,	— —	18,382
	Wine,	— —	104,701
Total,			489,163

To lay a duty of near 24,000*l.* a year upon the export of the produce of pasturage is heavy and most unpolitick, and ought to be abolished. The other articles in this list are very proper ones to tax.

THE decline in several branches of the revenue having united with an increased expence to run the nation in debt as above mentioned, new taxes are of

* Commons Journals, vol. xvi. p. 268.

course in contemplation every session. A LAND TAX has been a matter of conversation in Ireland for some years: some increase must be made to the revenue, but in what mode is an enquiry of the most interesting nature to that kingdom; I shall for this reason offer a few remarks on the state of the country relative to the taxes which would be most proper for it.

THERE are a variety of objections to land taxes in general, besides the particular ones which apply immediately to Ireland. Taxes ought all to be equal, but an *equal* land tax must be a *variable* one which is at once a *tythe*, the most pernicious burthen to which any nation can submit; it is the *taille*, the equal land tax of France which is so well known to be the ruin of the agriculture of that kingdom: hence therefore equality must not be thought of in a land tax: and if there were no other objections, this alone ought for ever to preclude them. But suppose a fixed unequal tax as in England yet there are great evils in it, a man's possessions are rarely to be taken as a proof of his capability to bear a tax; a landlord who receives a thousand pounds a year from his estate, and pays seven hundred interest of mortgages is taxed at his whole rental; what enormity and ruin is this! that the ability to bear the burthen is to be of no consequence in laying the tax! When the amazing amount of mortgages on landed property is considered, the greatness of this oppression must be fully felt. But land taxes when they are unequal are unproductive; hence the oppressions under this name which crush the agriculture of France, Milan, and the states of Austria and Prussia, in most of which actual *valuations* of the land are made periodically, as if no man's improvement should escape taxation: hence also the designs of the

English

English ministry once remarkably manifested in dropping the present land tax in order to obtain an equal one: these are universal objections.

BUT in Ireland there are others which concern that country singly, and therefore the more deserving attention; a vast proportion of it is under lease for ever; other parts let for five hundred years; others for lives, and a hundred years; others for lives and 50 and 30 years; in a word under leases of every description. How could a land tax be laid in that kingdom consistently with the reigning principle of the English tax that the landlord only shall pay it? Difficulties innumerable would arise at every step; no gordian knot but the sword of power can cut, but the question is whether all the principles that have directed a similar tax in England would not be cut with them: for the tax to be either equal or productive it must be laid on some classes of tenantry: it ought certainly to be laid on all who do not occupy; but from that moment there is an end of it as an English land tax, it is a taille, a tax on tenantry: break the limits—the great line between the owner of the land and the tenant, and who will say how far the innovation will be carried? the most dangerous that can ever be made in a kingdom. Adieu to all improvements in agriculture wherever such an one takes place.

EVILS of this sort rarely make their full appearance at first; a land tax in Ireland would probably come in under a very fair appearance; but the state of the country ought to tell its inhabitants that such a tax would be too unproductive to last; the successive alterations would do the fatal business, and produce the mischief in its full deformity.

ADMINISTRATION have had experience in England of the loss, as it has been called, to the revenue from a fixed tax; if ever therefore they introduced it into Ireland, it would be in a form which admitted alterations in order to avoid the circumstance which has more than once raised a strong inclination to a new assessment. For these and other reasons too numerous to give in detail here, I am convinced that Ireland can never experience a more pernicious tax than that on land.

BUT as I observed before, government must go on, and must be supported at an increasing expence: new taxes must consequently be had recourse to, and I shall not hesitate a moment in recommending excises as the only ones which can be much extended without any national injury: an entire change in the administration of them should take place; the monstrous abuses remedied, and new ones laid. The cheapness of whisky with which a man may get dead drunk for two-pence, is an enormity too great to be borne. The morals, health, peace, industry, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and wealth of the kingdom, are all materially injured by the cheapness of this vile beverage: there is not an object in Ireland which would yield a more productive revenue, at the same time that every shilling government got would be half a crown benefit to the public: a judicious and well collected excise on this liquor would raise an immense revenue. All other spirits, wines and tobacco, are also very well able to bear much heavier taxes than they labour under at present. An excise on tea also might be applicable; but there is no want of objects; and if the legislature of the kingdom will not set themselves very steadily to the business,

business, a land tax will be the consequence, and in it all the mischiefs that must attend the measure.

THE proposition for a land tax on absentees was very wisely rejected; the execution of it would have smoothed some of the difficulties, or at least rendered them familiar, and certainly have facilitated a general tax of the same nature.

THE mode pursued in Ireland of raising money by tontine, at an exceeding high interest, so high even as 7 per cent. is very mischievous to the kingdom. The great want of that country is *capital*, consequently a measure which tends to lessen capitals that are employed in any branch of industry, is pernicious: seven per cent. interest in national funds must be a severe blow, for who will lend money on private security at six per cent. while the public gives seven? And what man will undergo the trouble, and run the hazard of manufactures or commerce, while he can set by his fire side with seven per cent. in his pocket. In England where the capital is so immense, and with all that of Holland at command, similar transactions are found exceedingly detrimental, inasmuch that no industry can be carried on which will not yield very large profits; no money to be procured on bond; scarce any on mortgage; vast sums drawing out of the general industry for investment in the public funds, and a general fall in the value of that great portion of landed property which is obliged to be sold. But the sums borrowed in this country may be too large to raise by taxes; I do not think it is the same in Ireland; and that kingdom had much better raise their supplies within the session than lessen their little capital by tontines.

S E C T I O N XXI.

Commerce—Fishes—Embargoes.

UNfortunately for Ireland, the general commerce of it is to be fully treated in a very small compass; and the facts which I have already had occasion to lay before the reader in the two preceding sections, go very far towards completing the whole necessary to explain its state. Being a dependent country, the British legislature has, upon all occasions, controuled its commerce, sometimes with a very high hand, but universally upon the principles of monopoly, as if the poverty of that country was to form the wealth of Britain: I have on every occasion endeavoured to shew the futility of such an idea, and to prove from the evidence of invariable facts, that the wealth of Ireland has always been, and is, the wealth of England, that whatever she gets is expended in a very large proportion in the consumption of British fabrics and commodities. The increased prosperity of Ireland, which she has experienced in spite of our absurd restrictions on her commerce, has raised her to be one of the greatest and best markets this kingdom possesses in any part of the globe.

It is a remarkable fact, which was pointed out to me by that very able politician, the Earl of Shelburne, that the narrowness of our prohibitory laws in England is of late date; from the old English acts of parliament it appears, that before the restoration the true system of commerce was much better understood than it has been of late days; if the transactions of the
common.

commonwealth are examined, there will appear great liberality, and the soundest principles in Cromwell and the leading men of those times; and that it was the clear determination of the protector as well as of the long parliament, to make the trade of Ireland as free as possible; nay, the act of navigation itself, at the restoration, included Ireland upon the same footing as England; it was not till twelve years afterwards that the exception crept in by a single clause in another act, which probably was passed at the desire of some merchant, without any person's caring about it, which has been the case with many an American act. The next prohibitory law, which declared the importation of Irish cattle a nuisance, was a contested job between the duke of Ormond and the duke of Lauderdale; afterwards it became the fashion to pass acts against Ireland, which nobody had the knowledge or liberality to oppose. In the full perfection of this spirit it was, that a bill, which passed in Ireland in 1759, for restricting the importation of damaged flour, was thrown out in England at the instigation of a single miller at Chichester.

WHENEVER old prejudices wear out, it will certainly be found for the interest of England to give every freedom possible to the trade of Ireland. I am convinced if this extended to its being an absolute free port, no mischief would result from it; but as to a free export to all the world, not the shadow of a good argument ever yet appeared against it; for upon what principles of policy, or of common sense, can we found a conduct which restrains our own subjects from the free sale of their products and manufactures, when the returns of such sales must flow into our own coffers by that extension of demand, which has been inseparably connected with the wealth of Ireland? A
mercantile

mercantile landlord at London might as well say to his tenant in Yorkshire, you shall not sell your corn to whom you please, you shall ship it to me; you shall not convert your wool to the best purposes, you shall sell it raw to me. This language might be that of his leases; but it would be that of folly. Would he not soon find, that by leaving his tenants to make the best of their own commodities, they would afford to pay him a better rent; their wealth becomes his; if he keeps them poor he must be so himself. The case of Ireland is exactly parallel; the inhabitants of that island, in their public revenue, in their military, by their absentees, and in their commercial balance, pay to this kingdom a direct rent for it, which vibrates in its amount to the variations of their national wealth. While it was a wilderness of savages it paid the rent which defarts every where yield; as it improved our receipt has been proportioned, until it has become a cultivated flourishing estate, and yields a rent which marks to an iota the extent of the cultivation, and the degree of that prosperity. Of what use is the experience of a century of facts, if we are not to open our eyes to the lessons they convey? Long experience has told us what the effects of Irish wealth are; we feel those effects flowing like vital warmth through the whole extent of our own territory, and shall we yet hesitate to encourage and extend a prosperity which is the source and foundation of our own?

I have taken the great line of leading principles; will the littleness of commercial jealousy reply in its true spirit, that this town will be hurt: that that manufacture will be lost; that Manchester will be alarmed; and that Norwich will have apprehensions: it is not a question for the weavers of one place, or the merchants of another to decide: it is THE EM-
PIRE

PIRE that is concerned: the general interest demands the measure, and ought to absorb every pitiful consideration: but all experience speaks only one language even to these mistaken individuals: I observed it before, and gave instances of manufactures sinking in the possession of a monopoly, and thriving from a rivalry; of markets rising to increasing industry; of the welfare of one country rising from the prosperity of others: truths as universal as the world. And shall we deny the application to a sister, but dependent kingdom, from whom we have so many ways of gaining advantages from her wealth? But arguments are little wanted where facts are so numerous; to those I have already inserted, let me add the following state of our imports and exports in the Irish trade.

TRADE. GREAT BRITAIN WITH IRELAND.

In the year	Imports.	Exports.	Exports excess.
	l.	l.	l.
1760	904,180	1,050,401	146,220
1761	853,804	1,476,114	622,310
1762	889,368	1,528,696	639,328
1763	769,379	1,640,713	871,333
1764	777,412	1,634,382	856,969
1765	1,070,533	1,767,020	696,486
1766	1,154,982	1,920,015	765,033
1767	1,103,285	1,880,486	777,201
1768	1,220,094	2,248,315	1,022,221
1769	1,263,107	1,964,742	699,634
1770	1,214,398	2,125,466	911,068
1771	1,380,737	1,983,818	603,081
1772	1,242,305	1,963,787	721,481
1773	1,252,817	1,918,802	665,985†

* EXTRACTED from the accounts laid before the British parliament.

† For the years since 1773 see Sect. 24.

THE reader will recollect that it was the general tenour of the information received in the journey, that the year 1748 was the epoch of the modern prosperity of Ireland; all agree that after that peace, Ireland advanced greatly; her rise of rental will mark this clearly. The following is a review of the minutes: Lord Longford more than doubled in thirty years.—Earl of Inniskilling quadrupled in ditto.—Mr. Cooper almost trebled since 1748.—Mayo trebled in forty years.—King's county two-thirds since 1750.—Tipperary doubled in twenty years.—Barony of Owna and Ara doubled in ditto.—Rich lands of Limerick risen a fourth in twenty years, and two-thirds since 1748.

IN the preceding enquiries the truth of this is confirmed by every proof which authentic records can shew.

	Imports. l.	Exports, l.
The averages of twenty-five years, since 1748, are — — }	965,050	1,432,513
Ditto in the twenty-five preceding years, }	438,665	657,972
Latter period superior by,	526,385	824,541

HERE is an account that is worth a dozen arguments! It is from hence evident, that our exports to Ireland have in the last twenty-five years considerably more than doubled, almost trebled; and this great rise has been exactly in the period of the internal prosperity of that island. If I did not know persons of very respect-

respectable characters in parliament, who think very differently upon this great question of the freedom of Irish trade, I should be ashamed of dwelling a moment on the subject. How would it have been possible for that country to support such an increased importation, unless she had increased in wealth? And having proved that such advances in national prosperity have been attended by this increased demand for the manufactures and products of England, are we not perfectly founded in concluding, that future advantages to Ireland will also be attended by similar effects? The influx of wealth into that country brings a taste for the elegant luxuries with which we abound, and the capability of purchasing them ensures the purchase. An Englishman cannot go into a single house in Dublin, or see a person dressed, of either sex, without having this truth staring him in the face. The fourth column of the table, which shews the balance she pays us, and which amounts of late years, from six hundred thousand to a million a year, could not possibly be supported with the absentee drain, unless she made by her trade elsewhere.

	<i>Imports.</i> l.	<i>Exports.</i> l.
Average of the last seven years, —	1,240,677	2,012,202
Ditto of the preceding seven years, —	917,088	1,573,934
Increase, —	323,569	438,268

From this comparison we find, that the rapid increase of our exports to Ireland is in late years, the stronger reason therefore to expect, that whatever increase of wealth she experiences, it will be England that will receive the tribute of it. By means of the prof-

prosperity of Ireland, the trade we carry on with that kingdom is grown to be one of the most important which we possess; and in the last year of this table, nearly equalled the export to the whole continent of North America.

Exports from England to the continent of

North America, from Christmas, 1772,

to 1773.

Ditto to Ireland,

1,981,544

1,918,802

FREIGHT, insurance and profit on both, twelve per cent. Hence therefore this nation has no demand of policy so strong on her at present, as to encourage Ireland to the utmost of her power, in order to increase her own trade to that island, that American losses may be the less sensibly felt; but this can only be done by embracing a system totally new. And here it is a tribute fairly due to genius long since departed, to observe, that the relative interests of England and Ireland were better understood by Mr. Houghton in 1682, than by any later writer, whose productions have come to my knowledge; and as I have mentioned him on this occasion, I must remark, that he seems to have had juster ideas of trade, manufactures, prices of provisions, enclosures, &c. than nine-tenths of the authors who have treated of those subjects: "The richer Ireland grows the more wealth will the landlords have, and the more will they that live here spend. I am told by an inquisitive and understanding knight, that hath a great estate there, and very well understands the Irish affairs, that what their gentry spend here, with the pensions and the rent that are paid from thence to the city of London, amounts to about three hundred thousand pounds per annum, and I see

“see no reason why this expence should not increale according to their thriving.”—“Even in the woollen manufacture I question whether they could in cloth do more than the Dutch; and for other manufactures, why might it not put both nations at strife to find out some new consumptions, and so increase the trades of both? If there must be but a set quantity consumed, seeing England bears up against, and in cloathing outdoth terra firma, why may we not, IF IRELAND BE JOINED TO US, spoil the trade on the other side, and so be both enriched*?” Here is the interest of England, relative to that country, explained upon the most enlarged and most liberal principles of freedom and of commerce. This penetrating genius, who saw deeper into the true English interests than half our modern politicians, was sensible of no mischiefs from a free Irish woollen trade: the prevalence of commercial jealousy had not then arisen to the heights we have since seen it: without any hesitation. Ireland ought to have an absolutely free trade of export and import to all our American colonies and African settlements; also a very consider able freedom in her exports to Europe. But when this subject was in conversation in the house of commons, I heard the minister mention one circumstance, which seemed to stand in the way of doing justice to Ireland, that is to ourselves; taxes there being so much lower that their manufactures not being equally under the burthen of excises, would have an unfair start of ours†. With great submission, I think this would not be found sound doctrine either in fact or reason. I might here go into the question of a poor and cheap country robbing

* COLLECTION of Husbandry and Trade, vol. iv. p. 48.

† WRITTEN in June 1779.

a rich one of her manufactures, for the assertion comes directly to this; but Dr. Tucker has treated it in so masterly a manner, and has so clearly proved the absurdity of the idea, that what he has said ought to be considered as conclusive. But why give in linen what you deny in other fabrics? Irish linen has all the advantages of a freedom from a great variety of excises, which the manufacturers of English linen labour under, and yet we not only support the competition but thrive under it, from there being a difference in the fabrics, and as great a difference would be in all other fabrics. Their broad cloth, also, is made under the same advantages, and compare it both in price and quality with that of England; I bought it at seventeen shillings and six-pence a yard at the Dublin society's warehouse, without the master manufacturer's profit and expences, and I will venture to assert, from wearing both, twenty-three shillings for English cloth to be cheaper. The same fact runs through a variety of their fabrics. The fixed trade, capital and skill of England, will for ever bid defiance to the no-excises of Ireland. But something was forced to be given—had woollens been put down and linens not permitted, the oppressed and ruined people would have sought redress with arms in their hands. The monopolizing spirit of commercial jealousy gave as little as possible, and would not have given that little could she have avoided it. But the argument says, that Ireland having few excises will get much trade and wealth: and is it not your design that she should? Ought not this, in common sense, to be your wish and aim? For whom does she grow rich? If I have not proved that point, there is no proof in fact, nor truth in figures. Why cannot she rival France, Holland, and Germany, as well as England? But we have ample experience to tell us that

that she may advance, and we be prosperous. To assert, because there are not as many excises in one part of our dominions as another, that therefore their trade shall be cramped is exactly like saying, that labour is cheap there, and for that reason shall never be dear; making the poverty of the kingdom the motive for keeping it poor.

TAXES flow from trade and consumption, give them the wealth to consume, and never fear but taxes will follow.

FISHERIES.

THERE is scarcely a part of Ireland but what is well situated for some fishery of consequence; her coasts and innumerable creeks and rivers mouths are the resort of vast shoals of herring, cod, hake, mackarel, &c. which might, with proper attention, be converted into funds of wealth; but capital is such a universal want in Ireland, that very little is done. The minutes of the journey contain some valuable information on this head, but the general picture is rather an exhibition of what ought to be done, than any thing that actually is executed; nor have the measures of the legislature been attended with any considerable effect; some of them seem to have done mischief; of which the following is an instance.

By the 3 G. 3. c4.—Twenty shillings per ton on English or Irish built vessels decked, after the commencement of this act, not under twenty tons, nor to be paid for more than one hundred, to proceed from some port in Ireland.

Bounty of 2s. a barrel on export of white herrings.
Ditto of 2s. 6d. on mackarel.

Bounty of 5s. for six score of ling.

Ditto of 3s. for hake, haddock, glassing, and conger eel.

Ditto of 4s. 3¹/₂d. for every tierce, of 41 gallons of wet fish exported.

Ditto of 3l. per ton for whale oil,

Ditto of 30s. do. for other oil of fish

Ditto of 4l. per cwt. for whalebone.

} manufactured
in Ireland.

THE following has been the effect of this measure.

BARRELS OF HERRINGS IMPORTED INTO
IRELAND FOR EIGHTEEN YEARS.

Average of 9 years, from 1756 to 1764.

Before the bounty, 23,201 barrels, from G. Britain.

————— 1,847 ————— E. Country.

Total, 25,048

Average of 9 years, from 1765 to 1773.

After the bounty, 16,657 barrels, from G. Britain.

————— 25,365 ————— E. Country.

Total, 42,022

Increased import, in value, since
the bounty, — — —

l. s. d.

* 158,604 15 0

IMPORTED herrings for home consumption are from Scotland, for foreign use from Sweden. The former twenty shillings a barrel. The latter from fourteen to

* MANUSCRIPT report of the fish committee, 1778, communicated by the Right Hon. William Burton.

sixteen shillings. And their own from sixteen to twenty shillings.

Prices of other sorts of fish. Dry ling from eighteen to twenty shillings per cwt. Salmon from twelve to thirteen pounds per ton. Hake from fourteen to sixteen shillings per cwt. Dry cod from fourteen to sixteen shillings per cwt. Wet cod from fourteen to eighteen shillings per barrel*.

	l.	s.	d.
Amount of premiums paid to fishing } busses in the last nine years, - }	47,062	6	5
Ditto to exported fish, — —	1,265	4	7
	<hr/>		
	†48327	11	0
	<hr/>		

BEFORE I quit this article of Irish fisheries, I shall observe that next to the cultivation of land there is no object in their national œconomy of so much importance. No manufactures, no trade can be of half the consequence to Ireland, that many of her fisheries might prove if encouraged with judgment. There is no undertaking whatever in which a small capital goes so far; nor any in which the largest will pay such ample profits. Scotland has the herrings somewhat earlier, but they come in good time to Ireland for the Mediterranean trade, and in a plenty that ought to make their capture a favourite object. The bounties hitherto given have been so far from answering that they have in some respects done mischief. I was present more than once at the meetings of the fishery committee of the Irish house of commons, and I

* MANUSCRIPT Report Com. communicated by the Right Hon. William Burton.

† Ibid.

found them making anxious enquiries how to avoid great frauds, from which I found that notorious ones had been committed; this is the great misfortune of bounties when they are not given with great judgment and care. Relative to the fisheries the profit is so great, that all acquainted with them will engage as far as their capital will admit, whatever bounties are given therefore should not be with a view to instigate men possessed of capital, for they do not exist, but to put capitals into the hands of those who will certainly make use of them. It appeared in the minutes of the Loch Swilly fishery that one boat and the netts sufficient cost 20l.; the best bounty would be to give boats and netts to men used to the fishery, because few are able to buy or build them. To give a premium on the export of the herrings, or upon the tonnage of the boats, will not answer, for it supposes them actually taken, and built, that is, it supposes the very difficulty got over which want of money makes perpetual. Before the boat is in the fishery it must be built, and before the fish are exported they must be taken, those who have money to do either will go to work without any bounty, the profit alone being sufficient. In countries so very poor, the first steps in such undertakings are the most difficult; and to assist in overcoming the early difficulties is what the legislature should aim at. Giving boats and nets to men that would certainly use them does this, and would be productive of great national good; always supposing that frauds and jobbings are guarded against; if they are permitted to creep in, as in giving spinning wheels the mischief would be far more than the benefit. 20,000l. per annum thus expended would give 1000 boats, which would soon accumulate to a vast number, and if the effect was so great as to find the herrings regorge

regorge in the home market, then would be the time to drive them out by a bounty on the export, if their own cheapness did not bring the effect without it. I am far from recommending a new system of bounties upon an object that had not received them before; they have been long given or jobbed, all I mean is, that if the public is burthened with such payments, care should be taken that they are given in the mode that promises to be most advantageous.

E M B A R G O E S.

OF all the restrictions which England has at different times most impolitickly laid upon the trade of Ireland, there is none more obnoxious than the embargoes on their provision trade. The prohibitions on the export of woollens, and various other articles, have this pretence at least in their favour, that they are advantageous to similar manufactures in England; and Ireland has long been trained to the sacrifice of her national advantage as a dependant country; but in respect to embargoes, even this shallow pretence is wanting; a whole kingdom is sacrificed and plundered, not to enrich England, but three or four London contractors! a species of men of an odious cast as thriving only on the ruin and desolation of their country. It is well known that all the embargoes that have ever been laid have been for the profit of these fellows, and that the government has not profited a shilling by them. Whenever the affairs of Ireland come thoroughly to be considered in England, a new system in this respect must be embraced. It may not be proper for the crown directly to give up the prerogative of laying them; but it ought never to be exerted in the cases, and with the views with which we have

seen it used. The single circumstance of sacrificing the interests of a whole people to a few monopolizing individuals in another country, is to make a nation the beasts of burthen to another people. But this is not the only point; the interest of England and of government is equally sacrificed; for their object is to have beef plentiful and cheap. But to reduce it so low by embargoes as to discourage the grazier is to lessen the quantity; he increases his sheep or ploughs more, or is ruined by his business, which necessarily renders the commodity too dear, from the very circumstance of having been too cheap. A steady regular good price, from an active demand encourages the grazier so much that he will produce a quantity sufficient to keep the price from ever rising unreasonably high, and government would be better supplied. Another consideration is the loss to the kingdom by not taking French money, and sending them to other markets; if it could be proved, or indeed if the fact was possible, that you could keep their fleets in port for want of Irish beef, there would be an argument for an embargoe, perhaps, twice in half a century; but when all experience tells us that if they have not beef from Ireland they will get it from Holstein, from Denmark and elsewhere, is it not folly in the extreme to refuse their money, and send them to other markets. The Dutch were ridiculed in Louis XIV's reign for selling the French, before a campaign, the powder and ball which were afterwards used against themselves: but they were wise in so doing, they had not the universal monopoly of iron and gunpowder, as of spices, and if they did not supply the enemy others would, for no army ever yet staid at home in the heart of commercial countries for want of powder and ball; nor will a French fleet ever be confined to Brest for
want

want of beef to feed the sailors. Embargoes therefore cannot be laid with any serious views of that sort, but when contracts are made, the contractors gaping for monopoly, raise a clamour, and pretend that no beef can be had if France is served, directly or indirectly, and in order to make their bargains so much the more profitable government gives them an embargoe on the trade of a kingdom (like a lottery ticket to a fund subscriber) by way of *douceur*. This conduct is equally injurious to the true interest of England, of Ireland, and of government.

BEFORE I conclude this section, I must observe one circumstance, which though not important enough to stop the progress of commercial improvement in Ireland, yet must very much retard it, and that is the contempt in which trade is held by those who call themselves gentlemen. I heard a language common in Ireland, which, if it was to become universal, would effectually prevent her ever attaining greatness. The houses of country gentlemen are full of brothers, cousins, &c. idlers whose best employment is to follow a hare or a fox; *why are they not brought up to trade or manufacture?* TRADE! (the answer has been) THEY ARE GENTLEMEN;—to be poor till doomsday: a tradesman has not a right to the point of honour—you may refuse his challenge. Trinity College at Dublin swarms with lads who ought to be educated to the loom and the counting house. Many ill effects flow from these wretched prejudices; one consequence manifest over the whole kingdom, is commercial people quitting trade or manufactures when they have made from five to ten thousand pounds, to *become gentlemen*; where trade is dishonourable it will not flourish; this is taking people from industry at the very moment they

are the best able to command success. Many quakers who are, (take them for all in all) the most sensible class of people in the kingdom, are exceptions to this folly: and mark the consequence, they are the only wealthy traders in the island. The Irish are ready enough to imitate the vices and follies of England; let them imitate her virtues; her respect for commercial industry which has carried her splendor and her power to the remotest corners of the earth.

SECTION XXII.

Government—Union.

THERE never was a juster idea than that which I had occasion in another section to quote, that the revolution did not extend to Ireland; the case of the hereditary revenue was a remarkable instance, but the whole government of that island is one collective proof of it. The revolution was a moment in which all the *forms* of government were broken through in order to assert the *spirit* of liberty, but Ireland lost that opportunity; meeting security against the roman catholics in the victorious arms of king William, she rested satisfied with a government which secured her against the immediate enemy. It is certainly more a government of prerogative than that of England, and the law of the empire, the common law of the land is in favour of that prerogative; hence the absurdity of proving the rights of Ireland in the details of common law. Ireland from distance and backwardness lost those fortuitous opportunities which proved so important to the liberty of England; she could not claim

the

the letter of the revolution, but she could have claimed the spirit of it.

THE contribution of that territory to the general wants of the empire is in two shapes. 1. By the pension list. 2. By the military establishment. The great liberal line for that kingdom to pursue, is to examine not only the present amount of these articles, but what might be a fair estimate for the future. To come openly to the English government with an offer of an equal revenue applicable to whatever purposes government should find most beneficial for the interest of the whole empire; with this necessary condition that the military should be absolutely in the power of the crown to remove and employ wherever it pleased. To think of tying down the crown, to keeping troops in any spot, is an absurdity. Government can alone be the judge where troops are most wanting; it has an unlimited power in this respect in England, and it ought to have the same in Ireland: the good of the empire demands it. It is the fleet of England that has proved, and must prove the real defence of Ireland, and that island should take its chance of defence in common with England. At the same time any apprehensions, that they would be left without troops, would be absurd; since it would be the king's interest to keep a great body of forces there, for several reasons; among others, the cheapness of provisions, which would render their subsistence comparatively easy; also, barracks being built all over the kingdom: another point which would induce him, is the assistance their circulation would be of to the kingdom, whereas in England they would be a burthen. But the point might as well be given up chearfully, as to have it carried by a majority in parliament. Pensions have been
always

always on the increase and will be so; and as to the troops, government carries its point at present, and ought to do so, why not therefore give it up for a valuable consideration? As these things are managed now, government is forced to buy, at a great expence, the concurrence of an Irish parliament to what is really necessary; would it not be more for the public interest to have a fixed permanent plan, than the present illiberal and injurious system? The military list of Ireland, on an average of the last seven years, has amounted to 528,544l. to which add 80,000l. pensions, and the total makes 608,544l. Would it not be wise in Ireland to say to the British government——“ I
 “ will pay you a neat seven or eight hundred thousand
 “ pounds * a year, applicable to your annual supplies,
 “ or paying off your debt, and leave the defence of
 “ the kingdom entirely to your own discretion, on
 “ condition that I shall never have any military charge
 “ or pensions laid on me; the remainder of the reve-
 “ nue to be at the application of my own parliament,
 “ for the uses of interior government only, and for
 “ the encouragement of the trade, manufactures and
 “ agriculture of the kingdom. That you shall give
 “ me a specified freedom of commerce, and come to a
 “ liberal explanation of the powers of your attorney
 “ general, the privy council, and Poyning’s act.”
 It would be the best bargain that Ireland ever made.

If the government was once placed on such a footing, the office of lord lieutenant would be that of a liberal representative of majesty, without any of those disagreeable consequences which flow from difficulties

* I have mentioned seven hundred thousand pounds, but the sum would depend of course on the liberality of the return, a free trade would be worth purchasing at a much higher rate.

essentially necessary for him to overcome; and the government of England having in Ireland no views, but the prosperity of that kingdom, would necessarily be revered by all ranks of people. The parliament of the kingdom would still retain both importance and business, for all that at present comes before it would then be within its province, except the military, and complaints of pension lists and restricted commerce. Perhaps the advantages of a union would be enjoyed without its inconveniencies, for the parliament would remain for the civil protection of the kingdom, and the British legislature would not be deluged by an addition of Irish peers and commoners, one reason among others, which made the late earl of Chatham repeatedly declare himself against such a measure †.

THE great object of a union is a free trade, which appears to be of as much importance to England as to Ireland; if this was gained the uses of an entire coalition would not be numerous to Ireland; and to England the certain revenue, without the necessity of buying majorities in parliament, would be a great object. But as to the objections to a union, common in Ireland, I cannot see their propriety; I have heard but three that have even the appearance of weight; these are: 1. The increase of absentees. 2. The want of a parliament for protection against the officers of the crown. 3. The increase of taxation. To the first and last, supposing they followed, and were admitted evils, the question is, whether a free trade would not more than balance them; they imply the impoverishment of the kingdom, and were objected in Scotland

† THE Earl of Shelburne has assured me of this fact; nor let me omit to add, that to that nobleman I am indebted for the outline of the preceding plan.

against that union which has taken place ; but the fact has been directly otherwise, and Scotland has been continually on the increase of wealth ever since : nay, Edinburgh itself, which was naturally expected most to suffer, seems to have gained as much as any other part of the kingdom. Nor can I upon any principles think, a nation is losing, who exchanges the residence of a set of idle country gentlemen, for a numerous race of industrious farmers, manufacturers, merchants, and sailors. But the fact in the first objection does not seem well founded ; I cannot see any inevitable necessity for absentees increasing ; a family might reside the winter at London without becoming absentees ; and frequent journies to England, where every branch of industry and useful knowledge are in such perfection, could not fail to enlarge the views and cure the prejudices which obstruct the improvement of Ireland. As to taxation, it ought to be considered as a circumstance that always did, and always will follow prosperity and wealth. Savages pay no taxes, but those who are hourly increasing in the conveniencies, luxuries, and enjoyments of life, do not by any means find taxes such a burthen as to make them wish for poverty and barbarity in order to avoid taxation. In respect to the second objection, it seems to bear nearly as strong in the case of Scotland, and yet the evil has had no existence, the four courts at Dublin would of course remain, nor do I see at present any great protection resulting to individuals from a parliament, which the law of the land does not give ; it seems therefore to be an apprehension not very well founded. So much in answer to objections ; not by way of proving that an entire union is absolutely necessary, as without such a measure Ireland might certainly have great commercial freedom, and pay for it to the satisfaction of England.

SECTION XXIII.

General State of Ireland.

IT may not be disadvantageous to a clear idea of the subject at large, to draw into one view the material facts dispersed in the preceding enquiry, which throw a light on the general state of the kingdom, and to add one or two others, which did not properly come in under any of the former heads, that we may be able to have a distinct notion of that degree of prosperity which appears to have been, of late years, the inheritance of her rising industry.

BUILDINGS.

THESE improving, or falling into decay, are unerring signs of a nation's increasing grandeur or declension: the minutes of the journey, as well as observations already made, shew, that Ireland has been absolutely new built within these twenty years, and in a manner far superior to any thing that was seen in it before; it is a fact universal over the whole kingdom; cities, towns, and country seats; but the present is the æra for this improvement, there being now far more elegant seats rising than ever were known before.

ROADS:

THE roads of Ireland may be said all to have originated from Mr. French's presentment bill, and are now in a state that do honour to the kingdom; there has been probably expended in consequence of that bill, considerably above a million sterling.

TOWNS.

T O W N S.

THE towns of Ireland have very much increased in the last twenty years ; all public registers prove this, and it is a strong mark of rising prosperity. Towns are markets which enrich and cultivate the country, and can therefore never depopulate it, as some visionary theorists have pretended. The country is always the most populous within the sphere of great cities, if I may use the expression, and the increased cultivation of the remotest corners, shew that this sphere extends like the circulating undulations of water until they reach the most distant shores. Besides towns can only increase from an increase of manufactures, commerce, and luxury ; all three are other words for riches and employment, and these again for a general increase of people.

R I S E of R E N T S.

THE minutes of the journey shew, that the rents of land have at least doubled in twenty-five years, which is a most unerring proof of a great prosperity. The rise of rents proves a variety of circumstances all favourable ; that there is more capital to cultivate land ; that there is a greater demand for the products of the earth, and consequently a higher price ; that towns thrive, and are therefore able to pay higher prices ; that manufactures and foreign commerce increase ; the variations of the rent of land, from the boundless and fertile plains of the Mississippi, where it yields none, to the province of Holland, where every foot is valuable, shews the gradations of wealth, power and importance, between the one territory and the other. The present rental of Ireland amounts probably to six millions.

M A N U-

MANUFACTURES.

LINENS, the great fabric of the kingdom for exportation, have increased rapidly;

The export from 1750 to 1756, in	l.	l.
value of cloth and yarn was,	904,479	
Ditto from 1757 to 1763, -	1,166,136	
Increase, — — —	—	261,657
From 1764 to 1770, —	1,379,512	
Increase, — — —	—	213,376
From 1771 to 1777, —	1,615,654	
Increase, — — —	—	236,142
From 1771 to 1777, —	1,615,654	
From 1750 to 1756, —	904,479	
Increase, — — —	—	711,175
Thirty years since 1748 greater than 30 } years before, by — — —		810,548

COMMERCE.

TRADE in Ireland, in all its branches, has increased greatly in twenty-five years; this has been a natural effect from the other articles of prosperity already enumerated.

The Irish exports to Great Britain, on an	l.
average of 25 years before 1748, were,	438,665
Ditto on twenty-five years since	965,050
Increase, — — —	526,385

THIS

THIS greatest article of her trade has therefore more than doubled.

Export to Great-Britain per annum for the	l.
last seven years	— 1,240,677
The preceding seven years,	— 917,088
	<hr/> 323,569

THE greatest exports of Ireland, on an average of the last seven years, are,

	l.
Linen,	— 1,615,654
The product of oxen and cows,	— 1,218,902
Ditto of sheep,	— 200,413
Ditto of hogs,	— 150,631
Ditto of corn,	— 64,871
	<hr/> 3,250,471

Her total exports are probably three millions and a half. The balance of trade in her favour must be above a million.

CONSUMPTION.

A people always consume in proportion to their wealth, hence an increase in the one marks clearly that of the other. The following table will shew several of the principal articles of Irish consumption.

Beer,

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Average of 7 years, from 1764 to 1770.

Beer, ale, and porter barrels, at 32 gallons,	34,726
Gallons of brandy, — — —	625,726
Gallons of rum, — — —	1,558,097
Muscovy sugar, — — —	158,846
Pounds of tea, — — —	471,576
Pounds of tobacco, — — —	4,988,162
Tons of wine, — — —	5,643

Average of 7 years, from 1771 to 1777.

Beer, ale, and porter, barrels, at 32 gallons,	56,102
Gallons of brandy, — — —	289,679
Gallons of rum, — — —	1,729,652
Muscovy sugar, — — —	196,500
Pounds of tea, — — —	875,472
Pounds of tobacco, — — —	4,921,572
Tons of wine, — — —	4,941

THE articles of beer, rum, and sugar, are greatly increased; tea quadrupled; wine having lessened, is certainly owing to the increased sobriety of the kingdom, which must have made a difference in the import. The imports of silks and woollen goods, given on a former occasion, spoke the same language of increased consumption.

S P E C I E.

THE specie of Ireland, gold and silver, is calculated by the Dublin bankers at 1,600,000l.

POPULATION.

THIS article, which in so many treatises is reckoned to be the only object worth attention, I put the last of all, not as being unimportant, but depending totally on the preceding articles. It is perfectly needless to speak of population, after shewing that agriculture is improved, manufactures and commerce increased, and the general appearance of the kingdom carrying the face of a rising prosperity; it follows inevitably from all this, that the people must have increased; and accordingly the information, from one end of the island to the other, confirmed it: but no country should wish for population in the first instance, let it flow from an increase of industry and employment, and it will be valuable; but population that arises, supposing it possible, without it, would, instead of being valuable, prove useless, probably pernicious; population, therefore, singly taken, ought never to be an enquiry at all; there is not even any strength resulting from numbers without wealth, to arm, support, pay and discipline them. The hearth tax, in 1778, produced 61,646l. which cannot indicate a less population, exceptions included, than three millions. The minutes of souls, per cabin, at Castle Caldwell, Drumoland, and Kilfaine, gave 6 and $6\frac{1}{2}$.

UPON the whole, we may safely determine, that judging by those appearances and circumstances, which have been generally agreed to mark the prosperity or declension of a country, that Ireland has since the year 1748 made as great advances as could possibly be expected, perhaps greater than any other country in Europe.

SINCE

SINCE that period her linen exports have just TREBLED.

HER general exports to Great Britain more than DOUBLED. The rental of the kingdom doubled.

AND I may add, that her linen and general exports have increased proportionably to this in the last seven years, consequently her wealth is at present on a like increase.

S E C T I O N XXIV.

State of Ireland, brought down to the End of the Year 1779—Distresses—Free Trade—Observations—Armed Associations.

THE preceding sections have been written near a twelvemonth, events have since happened, which are of an importance that will not permit me to pass them by in silence, much as I wish to do it. The moment of national expectation and heat is seldom that of cool discussion. When the minds of men are in a ferment, questions originally simple, become complex from forced combinations. To publish opinions, however candidly formed, at such times, is a most unpleasant business, for it is almost impossible to avoid censure; but as a dead silence upon events of such importance, would look either like ignorance or affectation, I shall lay before the reader the result of my own researches.

UPON the meeting of the Irish parliament in october last, the great topic, which seemed to engross all their attention, was the distress of the kingdom, and the re-

medy demanded — *A free trade*. In the preceding papers Ireland exhibits the picture of a country, perhaps the most rising in prosperity of any in Europe, the data upon which that idea was formed, were brought down to Lady-day, 1778. I must therefore naturally enquire into the circumstances of a situation which seems to have changed so suddenly, and to so great a degree. I have taken every measure to gain whatever proofs I could of the real declension in Ireland during this period, and I find the circumstance of the revenue producing so much less than usual, particularly insisted on, the following is the state of it.

The greatest declension is in these articles :

In the years,	1776	1777	1778	1779
	l.	l.	l.	l.
Customs inwards, }	248,491	251,055	198,550	165,802
Customs outwards, }	42,488	35,883	36,027	31,717
Import excise, }	152,238	153,727	131,284	106,070
Wine, <i>first</i> , }	15,825	16,124	13,497	8,933

THE totals are as follow, including the hereditary revenue, old and new additional duties, stamps, and appropriated duties.

In the years,	1776	1777	1778	1779
	l.	l.	l.	l.
Totals, -	1,040,055	1,093,881	968,683	862,823

THE total decline in the last year amounts to about one hundred thousand pounds, and from the particulars it appears to lie on the import account; for as to the fall of five thousand pounds on the export customs, it

it is very trivial, those distresses which have, by associations or naturally, so immediate an effect in cutting off the expences of importation, while exports remain nearly as they were, have a wonderful tendency to produce a cure the moment the disease is known; for that balance of wealth, arising from such an account, must animate every branch of industry in a country, whose greatest evil is the want of capital and circulation.

GENERALLY speaking, a declining revenue is a proof of a declining wealth; but the present case is so strong an exception, that the very contrary is the fact; the Irish were very free and liberal consumers of foreign commodities; they have greatly curtailed that consumption, not from poverty, for their exports have many of them increased, and none declined comparably with their imports, circumstances marked by the course of exchange being much in their favour, as well as by these and other accounts; this liberal consumption being lessened from other motives, they are necessarily accumulating a considerable superlucration of wealth, which in spite of fate will revive their revenues, while it increases every exertion of their national industry.

In the years,	1776	1777	1778	1779
In the above account cus- toms in- wards, im- port excise, and wine duty, added together, amount to these sums, being,	l.	l.	l.	l.
Customs out- wards, - }	416,554	420,906	343,331	280,802
	42,488	35,883	36,027	31,717
		A a 3		FROM

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FROM 1777 to 1778, the customs on their exports increased, but their customs on imports declined above 77,000*l*. From 1778 to 1779 the former fell 4,310*l*. or more than a ninth, at the same time the import duty fell 63,000*l*. or a fifth; this difference in these articles is very great, and if all the heads of the revenue were included it would be more still.

IT is not surprizing that the national debt should increase while the revenue declines. At lady-day, 1779, it amounted to 1,062,597*l*. which is more than in 1777 by 237,171*l*.

BUT the decline of the revenue has by no means been general, as will be seen by the following table of articles, which have been upon the rise.

In the years,	1776	1777	1778	1779
	l.	l.	l.	l.
Ale licences,	7,272	7,182	7,363	7,511
Wine and strong water } ditto, - }	19,563	19,984	20,823	20,298
Hearth money,	60,966	60,580	61,646	60,617
Tea duty re- fidues, }	4,404	4,590	7,300	5,747
Tobacco, -	58,046	51,453	47,698	52,558
Strong wa- ters, third, }	5,659	18,586	18,782	18,233
Stamps, -	19,725	20,784	21,174	21,316
Hops, -	2,141	3,984	2,427	4,012

ALL of which, except the article of stamps, are laid upon the great consumption of the common people; whatever distress, therefore, is marked by a falling revenue, the lower classes do not seem, fortunately,
to

to have suffered proportionably with the higher ones. But let us farther enquire how far the declension of revenue is owing to an increase of poverty; and how far to a forced artificial measure, that of associations for non-import. These have been very general in Ireland, during 1779, and must have had a considerable effect. In order to understand the question, the facts themselves must be seen; the following tables will explain them. The revenue of Ireland, is raised chiefly on the import of spirits, tea, wine, tobacco, and sugar.

In the year	Coals.	Muscovado sugar.	Brandy.	Geneva.	Rum.
	Tons.	Cwt.	Gallons.	Gallons.	Gallons.
1776	217,938	238,746	403,706	153,430	1,888,068
1777	240,893	193,258	479,996	137,474	1,680,233
1778	237,101	139,816	226,434	144,438	1,234,502
1779	219,992	145,540	180,705	87,423	1,183,865

In the year	Tea. Bohea.	Tea. Green.	Wines of all sorts.	Tobacco.
	lb.	lb.	Tons.	lb.
1776	308,558	371,968	5,075	5,379,405
1777	359,475	344,726	5,129	3,916,409
1778	336,470	479,115	4,319	3,629,056
1779	402,594	375,269	2,806	4,038,479

THE great decline is in spirits and wine. Tea has not fallen upon the whole; and tobacco in 1779 is superior to 1778. Sugar since 1776 is much fallen, but from 1778 to 1779 there is a rise. Coals are tolerably equal. The strongest circumstance is that of

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wine, which has fallen very greatly indeed. The principal cause of the decline of the revenue is to be found in these imports. The remark I made before seems to be strongly confirmed, that the distress of Ireland seems more to have affected the higher than the lower classes; wine, green tea, and brandy, are fallen off considerably, but tobacco, bohea tea, and muscovado sugar, are increased from 1778 to 1779. This is strongly confirmed by the import of loaf sugar having fallen while muscovado has risen: the loaf in 1776 is 8,907 cwt. in 1777 it is 15,928 cwt. in 1778 it is 12,365 cwt. but in 1779 it is only 5,931 cwt. Other instances may be produced: imported millenery, a mere article of luxury for people of fashion, has fallen greatly: English beer, consumed by the better ranks, declines much, but hops for Irish beer, which is drank by the lower ones, has risen exceedingly.

	Hops.	Mill nery ware.	Beer.
	Cwt.	Value. l.	Barrels.
In the year 1776	9,694	13,758	65,912
1777	18,067	16,881	70,382
1778	10,974	15,667	68,960
1779	18,191	8,317	47,437

FROM this circumstance I draw a very strong conclusion, that rents are not paid as well as they ought, and that tenants and agents make a pretence of bad times to an extent far beyond the fact. The common expression of *bad times* does some mischief of this kind in England, but in Ireland it is much more effective, especially in excuses sent to absentees instead of remittances.

DECLINE OF IMPORTS. 361

THE great decline of the import of British manufactures and goods, which is remarkable, must be attributed to the non-import associations bearing particularly against them; they have dropped so much, that we may hope the Irish manufactures, they have interfered with, may have risen in consequence.

In the year	New drapery.	Old drapery.	Muslin.	Silk manufac.
	Yds.	Yds.	Yds.	lb.
1776	676,485	290,215	116,552	17,326
1777	731,819	381,330	162,663	24,187
1778	741,426	378,077	121,934	27,223
1779	270,839	176,196	44,507	15,794

IN most of these articles we find such a decline of import, that there is no wonder the revenue should have suffered. If it is said, that this decreased import is to be attributed to a preceding poverty, it will only throw back the period of enquiry into the years discussed in a preceding section, and from which no national decline can by any means be deduced.

SOME articles of import, however, contain such a decline, as induces me to think there must be more distress than appears from others. The following are the objects I fix on,

In the year	Flax- seed.	Hemp- seed.	Clover seed.	Raw silk.	Cotton wool.	Mohair yarn.
	Hbds.	Hbds.	Cwt.	lb.	Cwt.	lb.
1776	24,077	150	4,648	41,594	3,860	29,345
1777	32,613	159	5,988	54,043	4,569	27,424
1778	37,211	106	5,664	51,873	4,565	18,327
1779	20,419	69	3,852	29,633	1,345	4,552

THESE

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THESE are demanded by the agriculture, or the manufactures of the kingdom, and are the last that ought to fall.

IT is asserted that the declension in the trade of Ireland is not in imports only. Let us examine this.

		Beef.	Hides.	Tallow	Butter,
		barrels.	No.	Cwt.	Cwt.
In the year	1776	203,685	108,574	50,549	272,411
	1777	181,784	84,391	48,502	272,882
	1778	203,901	79,531	38,450	265,245
	1779	138,918	55,823	41,384	227,829
		Pork.	Hog's lard.	Candles.	
		barrels.	Cwt.	Cwt.	
In the year	1776	72,714	3,216	3,155	
	1777	122,227	2,981	1,764	
	1778	126,908	3,428	938	
	1779	70,066	3,527	1,827*	

The year 1779 is not complete, as the account for the troops is not made up,

NOTHING can be clearer than the language of this table. The declension it speaks is very trivial, but the increase in the most important articles is prodigious—an increase that continues to the present time, as we see from the export for the troops in 1779, inserted in the note. This Irish account agrees very well with the English one brought in by Lord North, from which the following particulars are extracted,

* THE export on account of the troops is,

		Beef.	Pork.	Butter.
		Barrels.	Barrels.	Cwt.
In the year	1777	—	13,206	49,296
	1778	—	13,206	49,296
	1779 to 25th April,	14,801	52,260	9,974
	1779 to 25th Oct.	11,572	41,164	8,572

IMPORTS

IMPORTS FROM IRELAND.

In the year	Value of beef.	Value of butter.	Value of tallow.	Value of pork.
	l.	l.	l.	l.
1768	55,802	173,259	52,557	28,609
1769	55,107	260,357	45,635	18,544
1770	51,695	149,464	44,928	22,240
1771	64,072	236,403	43,274	25,504
1772	48,434	204,810	17,419	22,401
1773	45,364	229,528	43,230	30,198
1774	46,064	211,152	38,247	21,836
1775	50,299	245,624	46,398	40,358
1776	95,194	237,926	48,072	42,737
1777	106,915	274,535	41,695	29,575
1778	106,202	210,986	39,209	37,981

As far as this account comes, for the year 1779 is not in it, here is almost every appearance of increase, or at least the decline where there is any, is much too inconsiderable to found any conclusions on. Let us examine manufactured exports from the same account,

In

PRESENT STATE OF IRISH TRADE.

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	Linen.		Linen yarn raw.		Bay yarn.	
	Yards.	Value.	lt.	Value.	Cwt.	Value.
In the year 1758	15,249,248	500,778	4,794,926	209,778	21,043	47,476
1769	16,496,271	549,875	4,107,478	179,702	19,332	43,580
1770	18,195,087	606,502	5,240,687	229,280	19,903	44,864
1771	20,622,217	687,407	4,035,756	176,564	18,588	41,894
1772	19,171,771	639,059	3,608,424	157,649	14,828	33,421
1773	17,876,617	595,887	3,082,274	134,869	11,073	24,964
1774	21,447,198	714,906	4,660,833	203,911	12,149	28,289
1775	21,916,171	730,539	4,363,582	190,906	13,882	31,294
1776	20,943,817	698,128	3,914,351	171,252	18,091	40,778
1777	21,132,548	704,418	3,198,437	139,931	17,897	40,269
1778	18,869,447	628,981	3,788,603	165,751	15,053	33,870

FROM hence we find that these articles have not fallen off so much as might from many reasons have been expected. Linen yarn has risen from 1777 to 1778 considerably. Cloth has fallen, but not enough to give any alarm. From 1770 to 1771 in linen yarn was almost as great a fall without any ill effects ensuing. The following table contains the total export from Ireland.

EXPORT

EXPORT OF LINEN, YARN, &c.

	<i>Linen cloth</i>	<i>Linen yarn</i>	<i>Worsted yarn.</i>
	<i>Yards.</i>	<i>Cwt.</i>	<i>Stones.</i>
In the year 1776	20,502,587	36,152	86,527
1777	19,714,638	29,698	114,703
1778	21,945,729	28,108	122,755
1779	18,836,042	35,673	100,939

WHICH does not mark any such decline as happened upon the bankruptcy of Mr. Fordyce. It is remarkable from these two accounts how great a proportion of the exported linen of Ireland is taken off by England, in the year 1776 it absorbed the whole. Indeed it appears to have more than done it, which apparent error arises from the Irish accounts ending at Lady-day, and the English ones the 31st of December. But in order to explain this business as much as possible, I shall, in the next place, insert the English account of all the exports and imports to and from Ireland.

In the year	Exports to Ireland of English manufacture, foreign goods and merchandize, in and out of time, and exported from Scotland.	Goods and merchandize imported from Ireland to England.	Balance against Ireland.
	l.	l.	l.
1768	2,248,314	1,226,094	1,022,220
1769	2,347,801	1,542,253	805,548
1770	2,544,737	1,358,899	1,185,838
1771	2,436,853	1,547,237	889,616
1772	2,396,152	1,416,285	979,867
1773	2,123,705	1,392,759	730,946
1774	2,414,666	1,573,345	841,321
1775	2,401,686	1,641,069	760,617
1776	2,461,290	1,654,226	807,064
1777	2,211,689	1,639,871	571,818
1778	1,731,808	1,510,881	220,927

In the year 1768, the export and import between Scotland and Ireland is not included, but in the rest it is. This table is drawn from the accounts laid before parliament at the close of the sessions of 1778-9, relative to the valuation here followed of the custom-house, I should remark, it has been supposed, that the *real* balance is in favour of Ireland, notwithstanding the valuation speaks the contrary, and Lord North in December last gave this as his information to the house of commons. But taking the account as it stands here, it must evidently appear that the distresses which have come upon Ireland within the last year or two, do not in the smallest degree originate in her commercial

mercial connections with England, for during the last nine or ten years her balance has grown less and less. From 1776 to 1777 it sunk 230,000l. and from 1777 to 1778 it fell 350,000l. If therefore Ireland was prosperous while she paid us a balance of 7, 8, and 900,000l. a year, surely she ought not to be more distressed under less than a fourth of it? That kingdom must upon the face of this account have had a superlucration of wealth arising of late years upon this trade to a very great amount. But this account does not include the year 1779, of which upon the general payments between the two kingdoms I have no other authority than to mention the course of exchange. Mr. Eden observes (*Four letters to the Earl of Carlisle*) that during the year 1778 and 1779, the exchange of Dublin on London has varied from $5\frac{1}{4}$ to $7\frac{1}{8}$ par. is $8\frac{1}{2}$. October 27, 1779, it was at $6\frac{1}{4}$, which is remarkably low, and proves that Ireland must have been accumulating wealth through that period.

THE reader will naturally remark, that these are all external authorities: some of them seem to mark a distress in Ireland, but others speak very strongly a direct contrary language; it remains to be observed, that the interior authorities have been much insisted on. It has been asserted, and by very respectable persons, that rents have fallen, lands untenanted, prices low, people unemployed, and poverty universal. The misfortune of these circumstances when produced as argument, is that they admit no proof. I ask for figures and you give me anecdote: my lord, this is ruined—the duke of t'other cannot afford to live at Dublin, the earl of A. has no remittances, Mr. C. has 18,000l. arrears. This is a repetition of the complaints which the English house of commons heard so much of in

1773.

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1770. I am very far from denying them, but only desire that *assertions* may not be accepted as *proofs*. They are national complaints when a new system of policy is called for, the palpable consequence of which is, that they are exaggerated—such complaints always were, and always will exceed the truth.

PRICES are an object of consequence, and ought to be particularly attended to, butter was, at Waterford, all last winter, at 42s. per cwt. Pork at the beginning of the winter 23s. to 23s. 9d. from that it rose by degrees to 26s. 6d. per cwt. The butter is very low, lower than for ten years; but pork keeps up its price. At Limerick the minutes shew that 29s. 3d. is a very high price, and that 12s. was the price only eleven years ago.

	1777.		1778.		1779.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Beef 4½ Cwt. average per barrel,	50 0	0 0	44 0	0 0	47 0	0 0
Pork, per barrel, do.	62 6	0 0	54 0	0 0	66 0	0 0
Butter, per Cwt.	60 0	45 0	52 6	39 0	34 0	45 0
Tallow, ditto, -	40 0	43 0	41 6	44 0	43 0	47 0
Candles per doz. lb.	5 6	0 0	5 6	0 0	5 6	6 0
Hides, per Cwt.	32 0	44 0	28 0	40 0	20 0	28 0
Wheat, per barrel,						
20 stones, -	19 0	22 6	17 0	22 0	15 0	19 0
Average, ditto, -	20 0	0 0	19 0	0 0	17 0	0 0

N. B. The prices at which the assize of bread has been struck at Waterford, since Christmas, are from 16s. 3d. to 16 9d.

1777.

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	1777.	1778.	1779.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Flour, per Cwt.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
second, -	12 6 to 16 0	11 6 to 16 6	
Barley, per barrel,			
16 stones, -	9 0 to 9 6	9 0 to 9 6	9 to 10 0
Beginning of February, barley up to 11s. 6d. per barrel,			
afterwards 12s.			

	1777.		1778.		1779.	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Malt, per barrel,						
12 stones, -	10 0	to 11 0	10 0	to 11 0	11 6	to
Oats, per barrel,						
14 stones, -	6 6	to 7 0	5 6	to 6 0	4 9	to 5 6
Oatmeal, per Cwt.	7 0	to 8 0	9 0	to 10 0	6 6	to 7 6

THESE are all the Waterford prices, there is a considerable fall in some, in others not; and in all the rates are higher than those of a few years ago.]

LET it not, however, be imagined, that I contend Ireland suffers none, or very little distress: while we see very great distresses in England we need not wonder that Ireland should, though in a less degree, suffer likewise. We see the funds have in a few years fallen 27 per cent. The years purchase of land reduced from 33 to 23. The prices of all products fallen from 30 to 100 per cent. Wheat from 7s. to 3s. a bushel; other grain in proportion. Wool from 18s. to 12s. all greatly owing to the scarcity of money arising from the high interest paid for the public loans: I can hardly conceive those operations to have drawn money from the channels of industry in every part of this island, without likewise affecting our neighbour, much of whose national industry was, if not *supported*, at least much assisted by English capitals. Therefore, from reasoning, I should suppose, they must have been somewhat distressed, but the preceding facts will not

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permit me to imagine that distress to be any thing like what is represented, at the same time that they shew it is in many articles wearing out even while the complaints are loudest.

ADMITTING some distress, and connecting it with the general state of the kingdom rather than peculiarly to the present moment, I may be asked to *what is it owing?* The preceding sections have been an answer to that question, but to bring their result into a very short compass, I should here observe, that the causes which have impeded the progress of Irish prosperity are,

- I. THE oppression of the catholicks, which by loading the industry of two millions of subjects have done more to retard the progress of the kingdom than all other causes put together.
- II. THE bounty on the inland carriage of corn to Dublin, which by changing a beneficial pasturage to an execrable tillage at a heavy expence to the public, has done much mischief to the kingdom, besides involving it in debt.
- III. THE perpetual interference of parliament in every branch of domestic industry, either for laying restrictions or giving bounties, but always doing mischief.
- IV. THE mode of conducting the linen manufacture, which by spreading over all the north has annihilated agriculture throughout a fourth part of the kingdom, and taken from a great and flourishing manu-

manufacture the usual effect of being an *encouragement* to every branch of husbandry.

V. THE stoppage of emigrations for five years which has accumulated a surplus of population, and thereby distressed those who are rivalled by their staying at home ‡.

VI. THE ill judged restrictions laid by Great Britain on the commerce of Ireland which have prevented the general industry of the country from being animated proportionably with that of others.

VII. THE great drain of the rents of absentees estates being remitted to England which has an effect, but I believe not quite so mischievous as commonly supposed.

Is it upon the whole to be concluded, relative to the present moment, that the freedom of trade now giving to Ireland, is a wrong measure? I by no means either think or assert such an opinion. In the pre-

‡ This single circumstance is sufficient to account for any distress that may be found in the north. Men who emigrate are from the nature of the circumstance the most active, hardy, daring, bold, and resolute spirits, and probably the most mischievous also. The intelligence in the minutes speaks that language; it was every year the loose, disorderly, worthless fellows that emigrated; upon an average of twenty years the number was four or five thousand; but from the great increasing population of the country, the number in the four or five years last past, would have been greater. At any rate here must be from twenty-five to forty thousand of the most disorderly worthless spirits accumulated, much against their wills, at home, and are fully sufficient to account for violence and riots, much more for clamour and complaint.

ceding sections I have repeatedly endeavoured to shew, that no policy was ever more absurd than the restricting system of England, which has been as prejudicial to herself as to Ireland; but because a measure is wise and prudent, is it proper to admit for truths facts which do not appear to be founded? the question of political prudence is a question only of the moment; but to admit circumstances to speak a national declension, which prove no such thing, is laying the foundation of future deception; it is bringing false principles into the political science, in a point than which none can be more important, ascertaining the circumstances relative to all future cases as well as the present, which prove the prosperity or declension of a kingdom. And here the reader will, I hope, pardon a digression on the conduct of one set of men in the present noise of distress; it is a circumstance in the state of Ireland, that should make more impression upon the country gentlemen of that kingdom than it does: they have united with merchants and manufacturers in the violent cry for a free trade, and they have regularly in parliament promoted all those visionary and expensive projects set on foot by interested people, for giving premiums and bounties, to the amount of above an hundred thousand pounds a year, and which alone accounts for the whole of that national debt, and declining revenue, which will make many new taxes necessary. The Irish are a grateful and a loyal people, and will not receive this free trade without making a return for it; that can only be in taxation; nay, they already speak in parliament of a return. Thus have the country gentlemen of that kingdom been such dupes, as to agree to measures for running themselves in debt, and have joined in the cry for a favour, which I have shewn cannot be of any

any considerable use perhaps for half a century, but for which they are immediately to pay a solid return, and if that return takes the shape of a land tax, they have nobody to thank but themselves. What I would conclude from this is, and would urge it as a lesson for the future, that it is always for the benefit of the landed interest TO BE QUIET. Let merchants and manufacturers complain, riot, associate, and do whatever they please, but never unite with them; restrain but never inflame them. The whole tenour of the preceding minutes proves that Ireland has flourished for these last thirty years to an uncommon degree, I believe more than any country in Europe. Was not this enough? Was not this a reason for being silent and still? Why not submit to a temporary distress, rather than by loud complaints, bring the state and situation of your country into question at all? Why demand useless favours in order to pay solid returns? During the whole flow of your prosperity what have been the additional burthens laid on you in taxation? Every country in Europe has added to those burthens considerably, England immensely, but you not at all, or to so trifling an amount as to be the same thing. Could your most sanguine hopes picture a more happy situation? And yet to yourselves are you indebted for bounties on the carriage of corn, for premiums on corn stands, for ideal navigations through bogs to convey turf to Whitehaven, for colliers where there is no coal, for bridges where there are no rivers, navigable cuts where there is no water, harbours where there are no ships, and churches where there are no congregations *. Party may have dictated such measures,

* THE assertion is not founded on the following charge in the national accounts 1779, though one might presume something upon it;

asures, in order to render government poor and dependent; but rely on it, such a conduct was for their own, not your advantage, as the absolute necessity of new taxes will most feelingly convince you. Thus have you been duped by one set into measures, which have impoverished the public and burthened you with a debt; and because another description of men suffer a distress, in its very nature temporary, you join in their cry to buy that, which if any good arose from it, would be theirs †, while you only are to pay the piper. Henceforward, therefore, execrate, silence, confound, and abash the men, who raise clamours at distresses, whether real or imaginary; you know from the progressive prosperity of your country, that such cannot be radical; weighty experience has told you also, that you may have to pay for relief that goes but imaginarily to others, in giving up your solid gold for their ideal profits. Reflect that the great period of your increasing wealth was a time of quiet and silence, and that you did not complain of poverty until you were proved to be a golden object of taxation. Ponder well on these facts and be in future silent.

THAT the measure of giving freedom to the Irish commerce is a wise one, I have not a doubt, but I

To the board of the first fruits for building new churches, }
and rebuilding old churches in such parishes as no divine } 6000
public service has been performed for 20 years past, }

† I am well aware of what may be here said upon the advantage of landlords being in proportion to the prosperity of manufactures and commerce: in general it certainly is so, and always when things are left to take their natural course, but when they rise above the tenour of that smooth quiet current, the conclusion may not be just: all the measures condemned in the text are forced and artificial.

must

must own, I regret its not having been done upon principles of sound policy, rather than at a time when it can bear the construction, true or false, of being extorted; and this leads me to one or two observations on the armed associations, which have made too much noise in England.

IF ill founded apprehensions have led the legislature of Britain to do now what it ought to have done long ago, the effect is beneficial to both countries; but I cannot admit that it is merely giving charity to a sturdy beggar, who frightens us by the brandishing and size of his crutch. To suppose that Great Britain is at the mercy of Ireland, and that an Irish *congress* may arise, supported by forty thousand bayonets, is mere idle declamation, we have the strongest reason entirely to reject such ideas, because it could not possibly end in any thing but the ruin of Ireland; the very conflict would arrest all that prosperity which has been gradually flowing in upon her for these thirty years past, and leave her exposed, a divided †, weakened people, open to the attack of every potent neighbour. What a senseless, military mob, led by men who have nothing to lose, would wish or attempt, may be doubted, but that military associations, officered and commanded by men of the first property, who have not named a grievance without redress following, and who have experienced more favour from three sessions of the British parliament than from three centuries before.—To suppose that such men, having every thing to lose by public confusion, but nothing

† THOSE who are so wild as for a moment to conceive an idea of this sort, must surely have forgot the roman catholicks in that kingdom. It would be easy to enlarge on this point, but for every reason improper.

to gain, would so entirely turn their back to the most powerful pleadings of their own interest and that of their country, is to suppose a case which never did nor ever will happen,

APPREHENSIONS of any extremities are idle, but there is this misfortune in a series of concessions not given to reason, but to clamour, that they rather invite new demands than satisfy old ones; and from this circumstance results the great superiority of coming at once to an universal explanation, and agreeing either to a union, or to such a modification of one, as I stated in section XXII.

In the next place let me enquire what degree of relief, (supposing the distresses of that kingdom to be as they may) will result from the freedom lately given to the Irish in respect to their woollen and American trades, which will naturally lead me to the question, whether any prejudice is likely to result to England,

WHATEVER the distress may be in Ireland, it appears that these freedoms will not strike immediately at the evil, nor bring any considerable remedy; they are general favours, and not applicable to the distress of the time; this ought to be well understood in Ireland, because false hopes lead only to disappointment. It was highly proper to repeal those restrictions, but it is every day in the power of the Irish to render to themselves much more important services. In order to convert their new situation to immediate advantage, they must establish woollen fabricks for the new markets opened to them; those already in the kingdom I cannot suppose to be exported for this plain reason—they are rivalled in their own markets
by

by similar manufactures from England, I mean particularly fine broad cloths and ratteens; if the Irish fabricks cannot stand the competition of ours in the market of Dublin, while they have a heavy land carriage in England, freight, commission, and duties on landing; and while the Irish cloth has a great bounty by the Dublin Society to encourage it, they certainly will not be able to oppose us in foreign markets, where we meet on equal terms; this removes the expected advantage to *new* fabricks, which, let me observe, require new capitals, new establishments, new exertions, and new difficulties to be overcome, and all this in a country where the old established and flourishing fabrick could scarcely be supported without English credit. It may farther be observed, that the reason why that credit and support have been given to the linen of Ireland, is its being a fabrick not interfering with those of Britain, it is a different manufacture, demanded for different purposes. Had it been otherwise, the superiority of English capitals, and the advantage of long established skill and industry, would have crushed the competition of the Irish linen; as in future they *will* crush any competition in woollens if of the same kinds we manufacture ourselves. When the capital of Ireland becomes much larger, when new habits of industry are introduced, and when time has established new funds of skill, then new fabricks may be undertaken with advantage, but it must be a work of time, and can no more operate as a remedy to present evils, than any scheme of the most visionary nature. Their West-India trade, I believe, will be of as little service; every thing in commerce depends on capital; in order to send ships freighted with Irish commodities to those colonies, reloaded with West-India goods, capital

and

and credit are necessary; they have it not for new trades; the progressive prosperity of the kingdom has increased all the old branches of their commerce, but they all exhibit a proof that they are still cramped for want of greater exertions, which time is bringing. If new speculations change the current of old capitals, the advantage may be very problematical; if this is not done new trades will demand new capitals, and I believe it will be difficult to point out three men in the kingdom with an unemployed wealth applicable to new undertakings.

BUT it is said that English capitals will be employed; an argument equally used to prove the gain of Ireland and the loss of England; but in fact proving neither one nor the other. If the wealth of England is employed there, it will be for the benefit of England. Before the present troubles three fourths of the trade, industry, and even agriculture of North-America, were put in motion by English capitals, but assuredly for our own benefit; the profit was remitted to England, and whenever the fund itself was withdrawn, it was to the same country. Is it for the benefit of Portugal that English factors reside at Oporto? Supposing the fact should happen, that English manufacturers or merchants should establish factors or partners at Corke or Waterford, to carry on woollen fabricks, I see not a shadow of objection; the profit of those undertakings would center most assuredly in England; and if in doing it the Irish were benefited also, who can repine? Were not the Americans benefited in the same manner? That England would suffer no loss if this was to happen appears to me clear, but I believe Ireland has very little reason to expect it for many years. I have shewn already that such a plan could
never

never be thought of for such fabricks as are in Ireland rivalled by English goods of the same sort; if it was to happen it must be in *new* fabricks: but let me ask a sensible manufacturer, whether it would not be easier for him to establish such amidst the long established skill and ingenuity of England, rather than go into a country where the whole must be a creation; where cheapness of provisions, and the habit of subsisting on potatoes, at so small an expence, would baffle his endeavours for half an age, to make the people industrious, and where, under that disadvantage, the price of his labour would be as high as in England? I have a right to conclude this, seeing the fact in the linen manufacture, throughout the North of Ireland, where the weavers earn on an average 1s. 5d. a day, and where also the cheapness of provisions proves very often detrimental to the fabrick.

As a general question, there is nothing more mistaken than dearness and cheapness of labour. Artizans and manufacturers of all sorts are as well paid by the day as in England, but the *quantity* of work they give for it, and in many cases the *quality* differ exceedingly. Husbandry labour is very *low priced*, but by no means *cheap*; I have in a preceding section shewn this, and asserted on experience that two shillings a day in Suffolk is cheaper than six pence in Corke. If a Huron would dig for two pence, I have little doubt but it might be dearer than the Irishman's six pence.

If an English manufacturer could not attempt an Irish fabrick for cheapness of labour, what other motive could influence him? Not the price of the raw material, for wool is on an average forty-seven
per

per cent. dearer than in England, which alone is a heavy burthen. Other reasons, were the above not sufficient, would induce me to believe on the one hand, that the Irish will not immediately reap any benefit from English capitals employed in their woollen fabricks; and on the other, that if it was to happen, England would sustain no loss. What time may effect is another question; Ireland has been so fast increasing in prosperity, that she will gradually form a capital of her own for new trades, and I doubt not will flourish in them without the least prejudice to Britain. Those who are apt to think the contrary, cannot consider with too much attention that case in point, North-Britain, which by means of cheap labour and provisions, has not been able to rival, with any dangerous success, one single English fabrick, yet has she raised many to a great degree of prosperity; but she has flourished in them without injury to us; and her greatest manufactures, such as stockings, linens, &c. &c. have grown with the unrivalled prosperity of similar fabricks in England; if English capitals have been assistant, have we upon review a single reason to regret it? The plenty of coals in Scotland is an advantage that Ireland does not enjoy, where fuel is dearer than in England.

BUT let me suppose for a moment, that the contrary of all this was fact, that English capitals would go, that Ireland would gain, and that England would lose. Is it imagined that the account would stop there? By no means. Why would English capitals go? Because they could be employed to more advantage; and will any one convince us, that it is not for the general benefit of the empire, that capitals should

should be employed where they will be *most productive*? Is it even for the advantage of England, that a thousand pounds should here be employed in a fabrick at twelve per cent. profit, if the same could make twenty in Ireland? This is not at all clear; but no position is plainer than another, because it is founded on uniform facts, that the wealth of Ireland is the wealth of England, and that the consumption in Ireland of English manufactures thrives exactly in proportion to that wealth. While the great profit of the linen manufacture centers at last in England, and while English capitals, and English factors, and partners, have gone to the North of Ireland to advance that fabrick, so much to the benefit of England, what shadow of an apprehension can arise, that other branches of Irish prosperity may arise by the same means, and with the same effect. Take into one general idea the consumption of British goods in that kingdom; the interest they pay us for money; and the remittances from absentee estates; and then let any one judge, if they can possibly increase in wealth without a vast proportion of every shilling of that wealth at last centring here. It is for this reason that I think myself the warmest friend to Britain, by urging the importance of Irish prosperity; we can never thrive to the extent of our capacity till local prejudices are done away, and they are not done away until we believe the advantage the same, whether wealth arises in Roscommon or in Berkshire.

UPON the whole it appears, that the Irish have no reason to look for relief from this new and liberal system, to any distress peculiar to the present moment; the silent progress of time is doing that for them, which they are much too apt to look for in statutes,

regu-

regulations and repeals. Their distress will most assuredly be only temporary. The increase of wealth, which has for some time been flowing into that kingdom, will animate their industry; to put it in the future is improper, it must be doing it at this moment, and he is no friend to Britain that does not wish it may continue in the most rapid progression; in this idea I shall not hesitate to declare, that the freedoms granted to Ireland, whenever they shall take effect to the benefit of that kingdom, will prove the wisest measures for enriching this. That all apprehensions of ills arising from them are equally contrary to the dictates of experience, and to the conclusions of the soundest theory.

S E C T I O N XXV.

Of the Constitutional Dependence of Ireland on the Legislature of Great Britain.

WHILE the demand for a free trade was the question agitated between the two kingdoms, nothing was heard in Ireland of any farther grievances, than those of restricted commerce. It was reasonably expected in England, that the wise and liberal measure of emancipating the Irish trade from the restrictions which the monopolizing spirit of traders had laid upon it, would have given complete satisfaction to the people of Ireland. The contrary has been the case; and the parliament of that kingdom may probably be at this time engaged in agitating questions that lead to the entire independance of Ireland on the legislature of Great Britain.

THIS

THIS is a question of such a magnitude and importance, that it is impossible it should receive too cool, deliberate, and repeated consideration. On this side the water it is proper to consider what it is necessary that Great Britain should *admit*. In Ireland they should impartially enquire what may be proper to *demand*, supposing their demands admitted.

THE affair between the two nations has been already treated historically, and the plea of the right in Great Britain to bind Ireland, considered in all its relations: but a very little penetration will enable any one to see, that it is at present a question which will be decided upon very different grounds than parchment rights. In the first edition of this Work I remarked, that the free trade was given not so much to reason, as to the expediency of the moment; and I observed, that concessions which had the appearance of being *forced*, would entail a series of new demands. Hitherto the effect has extended no further, than a call upon the parliament of Ireland, to take the constitutional question into consideration. We may very reasonably have a reliance on the wisdom of so respectable a body, that they will not be ready to endanger the happiest constitution in the world, by too assiduous an attempt to define the principles of a connection which has been attended with a regular progressive prosperity to both countries, probably because it never was defined at all.

AMERICA grew great in the train of British liberty, without her own freedom being ever explained. But the moment of drawing the line of connection—the instant of carrying into execution the definition of rights was the æra of dissolving every tie between the two countries.

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THE dependance of Ireland on the legislature of Britain, is so ill understood, as to be a matter of controversy: the two kingdoms, however, have been in possession of all the happiness of which human societies are capable, without being cursed with the necessity of defining the powers of one, or the rights of the other. Unfortunate will it be, if a people, discontented with the solid possession of every concomitant of freedom, should spurn the substance if they cannot command the shadow. I am confident, the wisdom of the Irish parliament will avoid whatever tends to such an absurdity; but we now see, that there are people in Ireland who think it for the advantage of that kingdom, to make use of the present opportunity even to extremes. And a very able writer*, pleading the cause of that country, openly declares, that she is not free while any dependency remains on the legislative authority of Great Britain, or any other connection than what results from obeying the same king.

THAT there would be an impropriety in altering the mode of passing Irish acts, by freeing them from some of the many controuls they are under at present, does not appear; but when such reasonable points come in consideration at a moment, when they are carried to such a length as amount to an entire new modelling the constitution; reasonable as they may be admitted independant of other circumstances, they become questionable from the consequence of compliance.

THE popular party in the north of Ireland call out for that absolute independancy chalked out for them

* Letter to Sir William Blackstone, 8vo, 1779.

by

by the writer alluded to, let us in a very cursory manner, consider how far it would be beneficial to Ireland, and how far it might be prejudicial to Great Britain.

THE only pretension of a solid benefit flowing from thence to Ireland is, the security they would have, that the British parliament *could not* recall the favours granted to the commerce of that kingdom. This is declared in the resolutions of those societies that have called for the demand of entire independency. But is it possible they should be serious in an apprehension of such a conduct? No man but what must laugh at the idea. It is not recalling a favour done to Ireland; it would be reversing an act of justice done to the prosperity of England. The interests of the two kingdoms are the same; and experience will soon prove, that every commercial advantage given to Ireland, is a sure means of advancing the wealth of England. To suppose, therefore, that measures so highly beneficial to Britain, as well as Ireland, should, by the British legislature, be reversed, is to apprehend what never can happen, were it to rest on no other foundation: But that of expediency would support the same idea; for what administration, after the experience which this age has brought with it, would dare to propose such a repeal? the idea is visionary; the apprehension can never be real. This circumstance excepted, there remains not another point in which the absolute independency would bring one jot more advantage to Ireland than might flow from a few regulations very far short of such a measure.

GREAT and material changes in the constitution of a country, sanctified by a duration of three hundred years, should not be attempted but in cases of

the most urgent necessity. Can the British legislature consent to such changes at present? Can they admit this to be the season of such necessity? Why is the moment in which Irish prosperity is at its zenith to be chosen for the period of apprehension, and favour conferred to become the signal of evil to be dreaded? But waving such considerations, let it be examined how far it would be prudent to adopt as a maxim of our government, that there should be no other connection between Great Britain and her dependances, than a federal union of different independent countries in obedience to one monarch. If such a connection is dispassionately considered, it will appear to be attended with such disadvantages to the principal power in such federal empire, that dependances ought to be avoided carefully as the source of infinite danger and mischief.

SUCH inferior parts of a great empire are protected, and partly governed at the expence of the principal. America enjoyed every advantage that attended the British navy: She was governed at the expence of England, and represented amongst the powers of the world by the English ambassadors. Her commercial connections with foreigners were the source of so many wars to us, that we now groan under immense debts, contracted for the support of American quarrels. Shall we be told after this, that there *ought* to have been no other connection between the two countries, than obedience to the same monarch? If this assertion is hazarded on the part of America, let it for Great Britain be declared, that upon such terms, no misfortune can be greater than such a connection with any country whatever. I am loath to apply this to Ireland; but if the doctrine now abroad be just, there ought to be no controuling power dormant in all

all common affairs, but existing for extraordinary emergencies to prevent a small part of a great empire from involving the whole in the inextricable confusion of endless wars. If this principle is carried to its extent, the rock of Bermudas might esteem itself one of the powers of the world, and (back'd by the power of Britain) enter the lists with the house of Bourbon. If this maxim is just, Ireland might take the first opportunity of peace to establish colonies in disputable regions, and add fresh wars to the commercial kalendar. Of what avail is it to tell us, that the king has a negative in an Irish as well as in an English parliament. He might hereafter find it as prudent not to exert such a prerogative in one country as in another: but if his minister in Ireland neglects his duty, is the whole empire to be involved in consequence?

It may be said, that these are far fetched suppositions: They are not, however, more novel than the doctrines which occasion them. But does not experience tell us that such things have been? The case of America is an aggregate of proof. The blood and treasure of this country were lavished in American quarrels, not through affection to that country, I am ready enough to grant: it was pure selfishness. The legislature of Britain were fully persuaded all the while, that they paid their money, and bled for *their* own interests. They considered America as a part of *their* empire. Whether justly or not, is unfortunately the question now; but we cannot avoid the recollection that the growth of the whole empire to that high degree of power, and glory, and prosperity, was coeval with these ideas: that these principles were not questioned during the wonderful advance of that prosperity, and the maturity of that glory: that these supposed controuling rights of the British legislature, though rare-

ly exerted, were never formally questioned, but uniformly submitted to, and virtually recognized, by all the dependancies of the empire, which arose to grandeur and felicity, though they admitted a superior.

As a question of general liberty, it has already been decided, and very ably, by various writers that a controuling legislature is favourable to its permanency, and nothing more adverse to it than a variety of perfectly independent ones. History amply explains to us how they may be corrupted and overturned in succession, and the destruction of one made the means of destroying another.

HENCE, therefore, the doctrines advanced by that writer, able as he is, go to such an alarming length, that it is much to be hoped by every considerate person, the parliament of Ireland will reject such ideas, because their execution would not be attended with any material benefit to their country, to balance the great and dangerous evils that arise from attempts to define with accuracy rights and powers, which have slept in indecision for five hundred years: Such attempts can only embroil the two kingdoms, and raise jealousies and apprehensions at a moment when there ought to be nothing but harmony between them.

If questions of this nature are carried such lengths, they will create an *absolute* necessity for a union; for it is impossible that Great Britain can admit so entire an independancy in Ireland, upon principles that extend themselves to every other possession she has in the world: If she yields *only* to the powerful, the infamy of the conduct is indelible and eternal.

It

It is true, Lord Mount Morres has, in a late publication, written with much spirit and good sense, declared, that the question between the two kingdoms does not go to this length, but only to a regulation of the mode of passing Irish acts. I am very glad that any well informed man thinks so; but I must observe, that many associations in Ireland, as well as the publication alluded to before, speak a very different language.

M O D E S

O F

A G R I C U L T U R E

RECOMMENDED TO THE
GENTLEMEN OF IRELAND.

HAVING been repeatedly requested by gentlemen in all parts of the kingdom, to name such courses of crops as I thought would be advantageous, I very readily complied to the best of my judgment with the desire; but as it is necessary to be more diffuse in explanations than possible on the leaf of a pocket-book, I promised many to be more particular in my intended publication; I shall, therefore venture to recommend such modes of cultivation as I think, after viewing the greatest part of the kingdom, will be found most advantageous.

TURNEP COURSE*.

1. Turneps.
2. Barley.
3. Clover.
4. Wheat.

D I R E C T I O N S.

Plough the field once in october into flat lands;
give the second ploughing the beginning of march;

* For dry and light soils,

a third

a third in april ; a fourth in may ; upon this spread the manure, whatever it may be, if any is designed for the crop ; dung is the best. About midsummer plough for the last time. You must be attentive in all these ploughings thoroughly to extirpate all root weeds, particularly couch (*triticum repens*) and water grafs (*aira polymorpha*) ; the former is the white root, which is under ground, the latter, which knots on the surface, and is, if possible, more mischievous than the former. Children, with baskets, should follow the plough in every furrow to pick it all up and burn it, and as fast as it is done sow and harrow in the turnep seed. The best way of sowing is to provide a trough, from twelve to sixteen feet long, three inches wide and four deep, made of slit deal, half an inch thick, let it have partitions twelve inches asunder, and a bottom of pierced tin, one hole in the center of each division *, the holes in the tin should be just large enough for a seed to fall through with ease, thin lids slide in a groove and meets in the middle ; in the middle of the trough two circular handles of iron ; the seed is to be put, a small quantity at a time, into the divisions, and a man taking the trough in his hands walks with a steady pace over the land, shaking it sideways as he goes : if he guides himself by the centers and furrows of the beds, he will be sure not to miss any land ; cover the seed with a light pair of harrows. A pint and half of seed the proper quantity for a plantation acre ; the large globular white-Norfolk sort, which grows above ground, yields the greatest produce.

* Some are made with five holes in every other division : these variations are not of consequence, if the quantity sown be right.

As soon as the crop comes up, watch them well to see if attacked by the fly, and if very large spaces are quite eaten, instantly plough again, and sow and harrow as before. When the plant gets the third or rough leaf, they are safe from the fly, and as soon as they spread a diameter of three inches is the time to begin to hand hoe them, an operation so indispensably necessary, that to cultivate turneps without it, is much worse management than not to cultivate them at all. Procure hand hoes from England eleven inches wide, and taking them into the field, make the men set out the turneps to the distance of from twelve to eighteen inches asunder, according to the richness of the soil; the richer the greater the distance, cutting up all weeds and turneps which grow within those spaces, and not leaving two or three plants together in knots. Make them do a piece of land perfectly well while you are with them, and leave it as a sample. They will be slow and awkward at first, but will improve quickly. Do not apprehend the expence, that will lessen as the men become handy. On no account permit them to do the work with their fingers, unless to separate two turneps close together, for they will then never understand the work, and the expence will always be great. Employ hands enough to finish the field in three weeks. As soon as they have done it, they are to begin again and hoe a second time to correct the deficiencies of the first; and for a few years, until the men become skilful in the business, attend in the same manner to remedy the omissions of the second. And if afterwards, when the turneps are closed, and exclude all hoeing, any weeds should rise and shew themselves above the crop, children and women should be sent in to pull them by hand.

IN

In order to feed the crop where they grow, which is an essential article, herdles must be procured; as a part therefore of the system, plant two or three acres of the strait timber sally, in the same manner as for a twig garden, only the plants not quite so close, these at two years growth will make very good sheep herdles, they should be six or seven feet long and three feet high, the bottoms of the upright stakes sharpened, and projecting from the wattle works six inches, they are fixed down by means of stakes, one stake to each herdle, and a band of year old sally goes over the two end stakes of the herdle, and the moveable stake they are fixed with; the herdles are very easily made, but the best way would be to send over an Irish labourer to England to become a master of it, which he would do in a couple of months.

BEING thus provided with herdles, and making some other shift till the sallies are grown, you must feed your crop (if you would apply them to the best advantage) with fat wethers, beginning the middle of november or first week in december, and herdling off a piece proportioned to the number of your sheep, let them live there, night and day, when they have nearly eaten the piece up, give them another, and so on while your crop lasts: when you come to have plenty of herdles there should be a double row in order to let your lean sheep follow the fat ones, and eat up their leavings; by which means none will be lost. The great profit of this practice in Ireland is being able to sell your fat sheep in the spring when mutton almost doubles its price. If you fat oxen with turneps they must be given in sheds, well littered, and kept clean, and the beasts should have good hay. Take care never to attempt to fatten either beasts or

wethers with them that are lean at putting them to turneps; the application is profitable only for animals that are not less than half fat.

UPON the crop being eaten there is a variation of conduct founded on circumstances not easy fully to describe, which is ploughing once, twice, or thrice for barley; the soil must be dry, loose, and friable for that grain, and as clover is always to be sown on it, it must be fine, but if the first ploughing is hit in proper time and weather, the land will be in finer order on many soils than after successive ploughings. The farmer in his field must be the judge of this: suffice it to say, that the right moment to send the ploughs into a field is one of the most difficult points to be learned in tillage, and which no instructions can teach. It is practice alone that can do it. As to the time of sowing the barley in Ireland I should miss no season after the middle of February if I had my land in order. Sow three quarters of a barrel, or a barrel and a quarter of barley to the plantation acre, according to the richness of the land, if it had a moderate manuring for turneps, and fed with fat sheep, three quarters or a whole one would be sufficient, but if you doubt your land being in heart sow one and a quarter. Plough first, (whether once, twice or thrice) and then sow and cover with harrows of middling weight, finishing with a light harrow. When the barley is three inches high, sow not less than 20lb. of red clover to each plantation acre, if the seed is not very good do not sow less than 25lb. and immediately run a light roller once over it; but take care that this is in a dry day, and when the earth does not stick at all to the roller. When the barley is cut, and carried from the field, feed the
clover

clover before winter, but not very bare, and do not let any cattle be on it in the winter. Early in the spring before it shoots pick the stones clean off where you intend mowing it for hay, but if you feed it this is unnecessary. As to the application of the crop for hay or food it must be directed by the occasions of the farmer; I shall however remark, that it may be made exceedingly conducive to increase the number of hogs in Ireland, as it will singly support, all quarter, half, and full grown pigs. If mown it should be cut as soon as the field looks reddish from the blossoms; it will yield two full crops of hay.

WITHIN the month of october let it be well ploughed, with an even regular furrow, and from half to three quarters of a barrel of wheat seed sown, according to the richness of the land, and harrowed well in. When this crop is reaped and cleared the course ends, and you begin again for turneps as before.

THIS system is very well adapted to sheep, as the clover fattens them in summer, and the turneps in winter.—Excellent as it is for dry soils, it is not adapted to wet ones; the following is preferable.

BEAN COURSE*.

- 1 Beans.
2. Oats.
3. Clover.
4. Wheat.

* For strong and wet soils.

DIREC-

DIRECTIONS.

WHATEVER the preceding crop, whether corn, or old grass, (for the first manure is properly applied, but unnecessary on the latter) plough but once for planting beans, which should be performed from the middle of december to the middle of february, the earlier the better †, and chuse either the mazagan or the horse bean according to your market; the single ploughing given must be performed so as to arch the land up, and leave deep furrows to serve as open drains. Harrow the land after ploughing. Provide slit planed deal poles ten feet long, an inch thick, and two inches broad, bore holes through them exactly at sixteen inches asunder, pass pack-threads through these holes to the length of the lands you are about to plant, and there should be a pole at every fifty yards; four stakes at the corners of the extreme poles, fasten them to the ground, the intention is to keep the lines every where at equal distances and strait, which are great points in the bean husbandry to facilitate horse hoeing. This being ready, women take some beans in their aprons, and with a dibber pointed with iron make the holes along the strings with their right hand, and put the bean in with their left; while they are doing one set of lines, another should be prepared and fixed ready for them. Near London they are paid 3s. and 3s. 6d. a bushel for this work of planting; but where they are not accustomed to it they do it by the day. The beans are put three inches asunder, and two or three inches deep. A barrel will plant a

† In England it is proper to wait till the heavy Christmas frost breaks up, but as such are rare in Ireland, the same precaution is not necessary.

plantation acre. A light pair of harrows are used to cover the seed in the holes, stuck with a few bushes. By the time the cold easterly winds come in the spring they will be high enough to hand hoe, if they were early planted, and it is of consequence on strong soils to catch every dry season for such operations. The hoes should be eight inches wide, and the whole surface of the space between the rows carefully cut, and every weed eradicated. This hoeing costs, near London, from 5s. to 7s. 6d. per English acre, but with unskilful hands in Ireland I should suppose it would cost from 12s. to 14s. per plantation acre, according to the laziness in working I have remarked there. When the beans are about six inches high, they should be horsehoed with a shim, the cutting part ten or eleven inches wide. A plate of this tool is to be seen in my *Eastern Tour*. It is cheap, simple, and not apt to be out of order, one horse draws it, which should be led by a careful person, another should hold the shim, and guide it carefully in the center between the rows. It cuts up all weeds effectually, and loosens the earth two or three inches deep; in a little time after this operation the hand hoe should be sent in again to cut any slips which the shim might have passed, and to extract the weeds that grew too near the plants for that tool to take them. This is but a slight hoeing. If the weather is dry enough a second horse hoeing with the shim should follow when the beans are nine or ten inches high, but if the weather is wet it must be omitted, the hand hoe however must be kept at work enough to keep the beans perfectly free from weeds. Reap the crop as soon as a few of the pods turn darkish, and while many of them are green, you had much better cut too soon than too late. You may get them off
in

in the month of august, (in England the mazagans are reaped in july) which leaves a sufficient season for half a fallow. Plough the ground directly if the weather is dry; and if dry seasons permit (but you must be guided entirely by the state of the weather, taking care on this soil never to go on it when wet) give it two ploughings more before winter, leaving the lands rounded up so as to shoot off all water, with deep and well cleansed furrows for the winter. It is of particular consequence for an early spring sowing, that not a drop of water rest on the land through winter.

THE first season dry enough after the middle of february, plough and sow the oats, harrowing them in, from three fourths of a barrel, to a barrel and a quarter according to the richness of the land. As the sowing must be on this one ploughing, you must be attentive to timing it right, and by no means to lose a dry season; cleanse the furrows, and leave the lands in such a round neat shape that no water can lodge; and when the oats are three or four inches high, as in the case before-mentioned of barley, roll in the clover seed as before, taking care to do it in a dry season. I need not carry the direction farther, as those for the turnep course are to be applied to the clover and wheat.

THE great object on these strong and wet soils is to be very careful never to let your horses go on them in wet weather, and in the forming your lands always to keep them the segment of a circle that water may no where rest, with cuts for conveying it away. Another course for this land is,

1. Beans.
2. Wheat.

IN

In which, the beans being managed exactly as before directed, three ploughings are given to the land, the third of which covers the wheat seed: this is a very profitable course.

P O T A T O E C O U R S E *.

1. Potatoes.
2. Wheat.
3. Turneps.
4. Barley.
5. Clover.
6. Wheat.

D I R E C T I O N S.

I will suppose the land to be a stubble, upon which spread the dung or compost equally over the whole field, in quantity not less than 60 cubical yards to a plantation acre. If the land be quite dry lay it flat, if inclinable to wetness arch it gently; in this first ploughing which should be given the latter end of february or the beginning of march, the potatoes are to be planted. Women are to lay the sets in every other furrow, at the distance of 12 inches from set to set close to the unploughed land, in order that the horses may tread the sets on them. There should be women enough to plant one furrow in the time the ploughman is turning another, the furrows should be not more than five inches deep, nor broader than nine inches, because when the potatoes come up they should be in rows 18 inches asunder. The furrows should also be straight, that the rows may be so for

* For light and dry soil; potatoes never answer on clays or strong wet soils.

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horse hoeing. Having finished the field, harrow it well to lay the surface smooth, and break all the clods, and if the weather be quite dry any time in a fortnight after planting run a light roller over it followed by a light harrow. About a fortnight before the potatoes appear, skim over the whole surface of the field with one whose cutting edge is two feet long, going not more than two inches deep; this loosens the surface mould, and cuts off all the young weeds that may be just coming up. When the potatoes are three inches high horse hoe them with a skim as directed for beans that cuts 12 inches wide, and go three inches deep, and immediately after hand hoe the rows, cutting the surface well between plant and plant, and also the space missed by the skim. Repeat both these operations when the plants are six or seven inches high; and in about three weeks after give a hand hoeing, directing the men gently to earth up the plants, but not to lay the mould higher to their stems than three inches. After this nothing more is to be done than sending women in to draw out any weeds that may appear by hand. Take them up the beginning of october, first carrying away all the stalks to the farm yard to make dung: then plough them up *across* the field; making these new lands very wide, that is 4, 5, or 6 perch over, in order to leave as few furrows that way as possible. Provide to every plough from ten to fifteen men with three pronged forks, and a boy or girl with a basket to every man, and dispose eight or ten cars along the land to receive the crop, I used three wheeled carts, as they do not require a horse while they are idle. Have your wheat seed ready brined, and limed, and the seedsman with his basket in the field; as soon as the ploughman turns a furrow, the seedsman follows him close, sprain-

spraining the seed not into the furrow just opened, but on to the land thrown over by the plough, the forkmen then divide themselves at equal distances along it, and shaking the mould which the ploughman turned over with their forks, the boys pick up the potatoes. In using their forks they must attend to leaving the land regular and handsome without leaving holes or inequalities, as there is to be no other tillage for the wheat. They are also always to stand and move on the part unploughed, and never to tread on the other; they are also to break all the land in pieces which the ploughman turns over, not only for getting all the potatoes, but also for covering the wheat. And thus they are to go on till the field is finished. If your men are lazy, and do not work hard enough to keep the plough constantly going, you must get more, for they should never stand still. The treatment of this wheat wants no directions, and the succeeding crops of the course are to be managed exactly as before directed, only you need not manure for the turneps, if the potatoes had in that respect justice done them.

FLAX COURSE.

1. Turneps.
2. Flax.
3. Clover.
4. Wheat.

DIRECTIONS.

THIS for flax on light and dry soils, the turneps to be managed exactly as before directed, and the remarks

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on the tillage of the turnep land for barley are all applicable to flax which requires the land to be very fine and friable; I would roll in the clover seed in the same manner, and the weeding and pulling the flax will assist its growth. Let the flax be sowed and stacked like corn, threshed in the spring, and the process of watering and dressing gone through the same as in the common way. This husbandry is exceedingly profitable.

1. Beans.
2. Flax.
3. Clover.
4. Wheat.

THIS for strong soils. The bean land to be prepared for the flax exactly in the same manner as before directed for oats.

1. Potatoes.
2. Flax.
3. Clover.
4. Wheat.

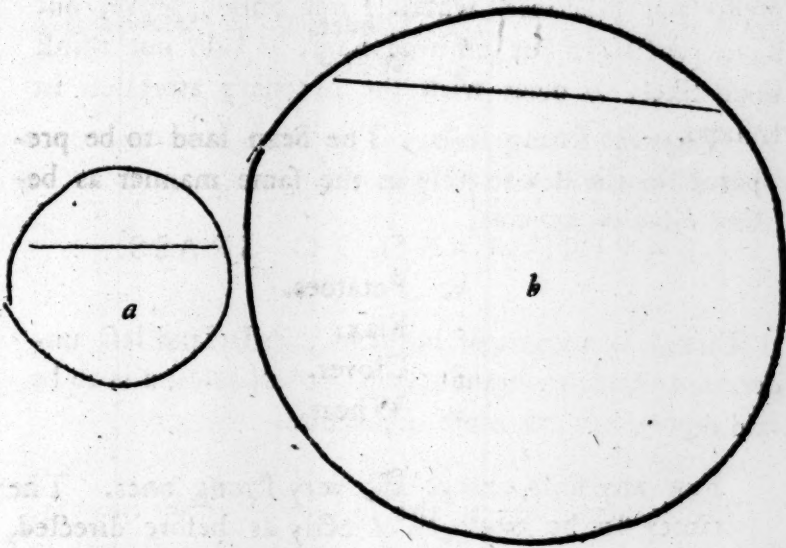
FOR any soils except the very strong ones. The potatoes to be managed exactly as before directed, only upon taking them up the land to be left till spring, but if wet no water to be suffered on it in the winter. In the spring to apply more or fewer ploughings as will best ensure a fine friable surface to sow the flax in.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

IN very stoney soils, the implement called a shim cannot be used to any advantage; in which case the opera-

operations directed for it must be effected by extra hand hoeings. By *land* I mean those beds formed in ploughing by the finishing open furrows: the space from furrow to furrow is the *land*.

In ploughing wet soils be attentive to get these lands gradually into a right shape, which is a direct segment of a circle. A large segment of a small circle raises the centers too high, and makes the sides too steep; but a small segment of a large circle is the proper form—for instance,



THE segment of *a* appears at once to be an improper shape for a broad land, but that of *b* is the right form; keeping wet soils in that shape very much corrects the natural disadvantages, permitting the teams to go on to wet soils in wet weather, is a most mischievous practice; but it is much worse in the spring than in the autumn. In all these courses it is proper to remark, that keeping the fallow crops, that is the turneps, beans and potatoes, absolutely free from all

weeds, and in loose friable order, is essential to success. It is not necessary only for those crops, but the successive ones depend entirely on this conduct. It is the principle of this husbandry to banish fallows, which are equally expensive and useless, but then it is absolutely necessary to be assiduous to the last degree in keeping these crops in the utmost perfection of management, not a shilling can be laid out on them that will not pay amply.

THERE are in the preceding courses several refinements and practices, which I not only approve, but have practised, but omitted here, as I do not think them likely to meet with the necessary attention in Ireland.

LAYING LAND TO GRASS.

THERE is no part of husbandry in Ireland less understood than this branch, and yet where land is to be laid down, none is more important.

BEGIN according to the soil, with either turneps, beans or potatoes, and manage them as prescribed in the preceding instructions. If the land has been long under a bad system, by which it has been exhausted and filled with noxious weeds, take a second crop managed exactly like the first, but one only to be manured. After this sow either barley, oats, or flax, according to the tenor of the preceding directions, but instead of clover seed rolled in, harrow in the following seeds, with those spring crops : quantities for a plantation acre,

RECOMMENDED. 405

- 15lb. perennial red clover, called cow grass, (*trifolium alpestre*)
- 12lb. of white clover, (*trifolium repens*).
- 15lb. of narrow leaved plantain, called rib grass, (*plantago lanceolata*.)
- 10lb. of yellow trefoile,

Which if bought at the best hand, will not usually exceed above twenty-five shillings. All the ploughings given for this end, must tend to reduce the surface to an exact level, but then a very correct attention must be used to dig open furrows, in order to convey away all water.

A P P E N D I X.

THE scenes I have described in Loch Erne were those I viewed. I have been told of other parts of that lake equally beautiful, and that Lord Erne possesses several islands of wood, which exhibit many delicious scenes: The annexed plate represents some of them, particularly Mary's island in front, Rabbit island with a turret; next the isle of Ennifandra, and on the other side Carlat, and two others. I am obliged, for the drawing, to the very elegant pencil of lady E. Forster.

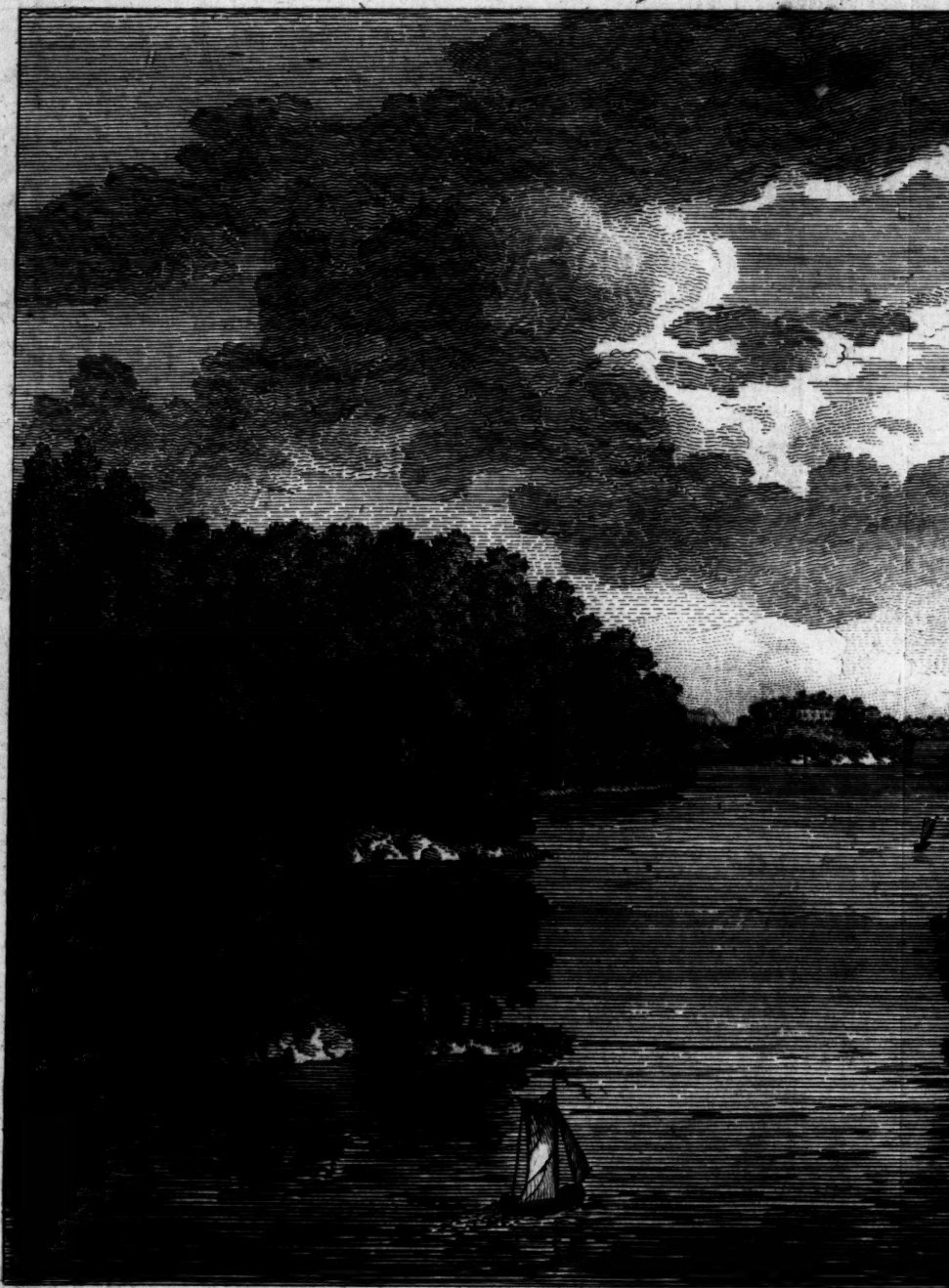
I D L E N E S S.

La sociedad economica de Dublin ha levantado enteramente de nuevo las lencerias de Irlanda; *cuyos habitantes estaban poseidos de gran indolencia.* Han extendido su agricultura, en lugar que antes vivian de ganados y pastos, como los tartaros. See the *Appendice a la Educacion Popular.* Parte Quarta, p. 35. Madrid 1777, by Campomanes.

I T I N E R A R Y.

				Ir. miles.
From Dublin to Kil-				
cock,	-	-	9	Tullamore, 18
Slaine,	-	-	18	Shaen Castle, 22
Fore,	-	-	28	Brown's Hill, 18
Mullengar,	-	-	16	Kilfaine, 20

Ross,



Mary's Island in Loch Erne



J. Taylor sculp.

Carne belonging to Lord Carne.



A P P E N D I X.

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<i>Ir. miles.</i>			<i>Ir. miles.</i>		
Rofs,	-	14	Ballyshannon,	-	13
Taghmon,	-	12	Castle Caldwell,	-	8
St. Margarets,	-	12	Inniskilling by the lake,	-	17
Wexford,	-	9	Belleisle,	-	7
Gowry,	-	22	Florence Court,	-	10
Arklow,	-	10	Farnham,	-	24
Newry Bridge,	-	13	Granard, &c.	-	16
Mount Kenedy,	-	9	Strokestown,	-	25
Powerscourt,	-	6	Elphin,	-	5
Fall and Inniskerry,	-	6	Kingston,	-	10
Dublin,	-	11	Ballymoat,	-	12
St. Wolfans,	-	8	Mercra,	-	5
Kilrue,	-	12	Tanrego,	-	8
Ballbridden by Ratoah,	-	15	Sortland,	-	13
Drogheda,	-	9	Ballyna,	-	13
Ardee by the Boyne and	-	-	Westport by Kilalla,	-	42
Cullen,	-	12	Rofs-hill, &c.	-	8
Dundalk by Rossypark,	-	11	Newbrook,	-	16
Newry by Ravensdale,	-	11	Tuam,	-	15
Market Hill,	-	10	Moniva,	-	9
Ardmagh,	-	6	Woodlawn,	-	10
Lurgan by Glaslough,	-	26	Drumoland,	-	31
Hillsborough,	-	11	Limerick,	-	16
Lisburne,	-	3	Castle Oliver,	-	22
Castle Hill,	-	11	Anns Grove,	-	10
Belfast,	-	3	Donneraile by Craig,	-	-
Portaferry,	-	22	&c.	-	18
Belfast by Downpatrick,	-	26	Mallow,	-	6
Shaen Castle,	-	15	Blarney,	-	10
Leslie Hill,	-	21	Dunkettle,	-	8
Giant's causeway and	-	-	Cove, &c.	-	16
back,	-	26	Castle Martyr,	-	12
Coleraine,	-	5	Rostellan,	-	10
Derry,	-	28	Corke,	-	16
Inch and back,	-	16	Coolmore,	-	7
Raphoe,	-	9	Macroon,	-	22
Convoy by Clonleigh,	-	13	Knightbridge,	-	8
Ballymaffy,	-	6	Nedeen,	-	14
Mount Charles,	-	16	Killarney,	-	12
Killibegs, &c.	-	14	Tour of the lake,	-	35

Arbella,

	<i>Ir. miles.</i>		<i>Ir. miles.</i>
Arbella, - -	14	Limerick, - -	12
Ardfert, - -	8	Cullen, - -	18
Ballingarry, &c. -	16	Mitchellstown, -	20
Woodford, - -	16	Environ of ditto, -	30
Tarbat, - -	16	Galties, - -	20
Adair, - -	26	Clonmell, - -	20
Castle Oliver, -	20	Waterford, &c. -	40
Lord Clanwilliams,	27	Tramore, &c. -	10
Dundrum, - -	4	Cashel, - -	26
Newbridge by Cashel		Urlingsford, - -	17
and Clonmell, -	19	Ballyroan, - -	18
Curraghmore, -	10	Kildare, - -	20
Waterford - -	10	Dublin, - -	28
Passage, Ballycanvan,			
&c. - -	15	Irish, - -	1796
Lucan Leixlip, &c.	15		
Naas, - -	16	English - -	2285
Dawson Court, -	24	London to Holyhead,	274
Gloster, - -	28	Channel to Dublin,	60
Johnstown, - -	25	Ditto to Milford, -	60
Derry, - -	12	Milford to Bradfield,	332
		Total miles, -	3011

FALL IN THE PRICE OF THE PRODUCTS OF LAND.

HAVING in the preceding sheets, mentioned much distress being felt in England from the great fall in the price of all products, I think I may be pardoned one or two observations in defence of opinions I have formerly held, and which then subjected me to much censure from the pens of a variety of pamphleteers.

FROM the conclusion of the last peace in 1762, to 1775 inclusive, the prices of all the products of the earth were at so high a price, that complaints were innumerable.

numerable. I have a shelf in my study almost full of publications on the subject, and parliament itself was employed more than once in enquiring into the causes. The suppositions of the public were endless, there was scarcely an object in the kingdom, which was not mentioned as a cause, jobbers, regrators, forestallers, sample selling, export, bounty, post horses, stage coaches, hounds, &c. &c. but some respectable complainants fixed on great farms and enclosures. During that period I more than once endeavoured to persuade the public, that the complaint itself was not well founded, that prices were not comparatively so high as had been asserted; that the rise was not owing to any one of the causes mentioned, and that a considerable increase of national wealth was fully sufficient to account for it.

In the years 1776, 1777, and 1778, prices fell considerably; and in 1779 so low, that very general complaints have been heard of ruined farmers and distressed landlords, and at the time I am now writing the fact holds, that there is a very considerable fall in all products, and great numbers of farmers ruined. I have the prices of wool now for forty years before me, and that which from 1758 to 1767 was from 18s. to 21s. a tod, is for 1779 only 12s. and was in 1778 but 14s. We must go back to 1754 to find a year so low as the last. Wheat and all sorts of grain are greatly fallen *.

IN

* THE comparison in general must stand thus :

Wheat,	3s. to 3s. 6d.	which 5 years ago was	6s. to 7s.
Barley,	2s.	ditto	3s. 6d.
Oats,	2s.	ditto	2s. 6d.
Beans,	2s. 10d. to 3s.	ditto	3s. 6d.
Wool,	12s. to 15s.	ditto	16s. to 21s.
Lambs,	6s.	ditto	12s.

2 year

IN addition to these facts let me observe, that great farms and enclosures are now as prevalent as ever. If they were the occasion of high prices before, how come they not to have the same effect now? But it is quite unnecessary to dwell upon a fact, which at the first blush brings with it the most complete conviction.

AFTER the peace of 1762, there was a very great influx of wealth into this kingdom, which had the effect of nominally raising all prices, not of corn and cattle only, but of land itself; prices have declined in 1776, 1777 and 1778, but greatly in 1779. I am very apt to believe, that as the former *deariness*, as we called it, was owing to PLENTY of money, the present *cheapness* is owing to SCARCITY; not to a scarcity, generally speaking, because there is a proof that the specie of the kingdom was never greater than at present, but to a scarcity in those innumerable channels, which like the smaller veins and ramifications of the human body, carry the blood to the least of the extremities. There is no scarcity of money in London, as I am informed by several very considerable bankers and merchants. But why is it so plentiful there? In order to be applied at seven or eight per cent. interest in public loans. This circumstance it is which collects it from every part of the country, from every branch of national industry, and which occasions the effect now so generally complained of, a

2 year old wethers 10s. which were 20s.

Cows, 5l. to 6l.

Hogs, 20s.

4 year old steers, 3l. 10s. to 5l.

Oak timber, 3l. to 4l.

Ash ditto, 2l. to 2l. 5s.

7l. to 9l.

26s.

7l. to 10l.

3l. 10s. to 4l. 10s.

2l. 10s. to 3l.

fall

fall in all prices. The reason why the farmers are ruined, which is really the case with numbers, is their having taken tenures of their lands at a rent proportioned to high prices; nor is this the only circumstance, labour ought to fall with other commodities, but government having four hundred thousand men in pay, and consequently to be recruited, bids high in the market against the farmer. Poor rates also ought to fall, but there is so much folly, knavery, and infatuation, in every part of that abominable administration, that I am not at all surpris'd at seeing them rise, which is the fact. These three circumstances easily account for the distress of the farmer.

We may in future, I apprehend, expect to see more accurate ideas of what has been called *dear* and *cheap* rates of products, and never more to hear of great farms, engrossers of farms, commanding and monopolizing markets, or enclosures condemned for doing that which we now find them so utterly incapable of doing, that the farmers are ruined and in gaol for want of the power to effect matters, for which they were before so execrated. We at least gain something, if the present experience gives the lie direct to all that folly, nonsense and absurdity, with which the public was so repeatedly pestered. And there is the more reason for this, because if such a peace succeeds the present war, as leaves us a wealthy and prosperous people, prices will assuredly rise, when that folly might again be met with, if not at present displayed in the true colours.

I know there are persons, who attribute both the former high, and the present low prices, to difference of crops, speaking much of plentiful and scarce years;
I have

I have been uniformly of opinion, that the difference of product, upon an average of all soils, to be extremely small, so small as not to operate upon price; and even upon particular spots the difference is not nearly so great, as to account for any considerable rise or fall. If this was a proper place I could offer many reasons and facts for this opinion; but if we accept the idea, then there is at once an end to great farms and enclosures as the cause of the rise, which are the two circumstances the most insisted on.

“I have lately received an account of a large common field in Leicestershire, which used to produce annually 800 qrs. of corn, besides maintaining 200 cattle, but which now in consequence of *being inclosed and getting into few hands*, produces little or no corn; and maintains no more cattle than before, though the rents are considerably advanced.” *Dr. Price's Supp. to Obs. on Rev. Pay*, p. 388. “In Northamptonshire and Leicestershire, enclosing has greatly prevailed, and most of the new enclosed lordships are turned into pasturage, in consequence of which many lordships have not now 50 acres ploughed yearly, in which 1500, or at least 1000 were ploughed formerly; and scarce an ear of corn is now to be seen in some that bore hundreds of qrs. and so severely are the effects of this felt, that more wheat had been lately sold in these counties, on an average, at 7s. and 7s. 6d. the Winchester bushel, than used to be sold at 3s. 6d.” *Rev. Mr. Addington's reasons against enclosing open fields*. As enclosures have since proceeded as rapidly as ever—Pray, why is wheat down at 3s. 6d. again, if it was enclosing that raised it to 7s. 6d.?

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